

18 October 1984

# Near East/South Asia Report

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18 October 1984

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## ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

### TURKISH PAPER ATTACKS PATRIARCH FOR VISITING YEREVAN

#### Patriarch Accused by TERCUMAN

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 14 Aug 84 pp 1, 4

[Text] Today, TERCUMAN makes a surprisingly serious and severe statement regarding the forthcoming visit by the Armenian Patriarch of Turkey, His Grace Shnork Archbishop Kalusdian to Saint Etchmiadzin. The paper writes the following:

We have heard that Shnork Patriarch Kalusdian, the religious leader of the Armenian Community in Istanbul, will pay a visit to Vazken I, religious leader in the Soviet Union and an enemy of Turkey. This visit by Patriarch Kalousdian has given rise to various reactions in different circles and in particular among the Armenians of Turkey. Vazken I who lives in Yerevan and wields great influence on Armenian churches all over the world, is known for his activities harmful to Turkey. It was he who unveiled the Monument of Hate in Alfortville on 29 April 1984 and it is known that he is the "hidden man" in the attacks against Turkish diplomats organized abroad. In 1975, he set up, together with the Cilician Church in Beirut, the terroristic organization known as ASALA and he pursues his activities under the supervision and order of the KGB, the Soviet Secret Service. During his visit to Argentina, Vazken I persuaded the leaders of that country to take the Armenian Case to the UN.

Vazkan I has not condemned not a single crime committed by the Armenians. The Armenian Community now thinks that Kalusdian, who after every crime has condemned terroristic actions, should not undertake this visit.

Naturally, MARMARA reprints with caution the above news from TERCUMAN and according to which the Catholicos of All Armenians is shown as a supporter of terrorism and as founder of ASALA. Unfortunately, it is true that during his recent visit to France and the countries of Latin America, the Catholicos of All Armenians made pronouncements against Turkey in connection with the events of 1915, but we also know that on several occasions in the past, the spiritual leader of the Armenians has condemned all forms of terrorist activity. He has invited the Patriarch of the Armenians of Turkey to St. Etchmiadzin for a purely ecclesiastical matter, as is evident from a communique published today in a different column of our paper and which had

been sent to us prior to the publication of TERCUMAN's news. During his visit, His Grace the Patriarch will have the opportunity to deal with the question of Church regulations. He will also draw the attention of his Holiness the Catholicos on the fact that Armenians in Turkey are extremely content to be living in Turkey and they benefit from the happy and quiet conditions of life.

#### Patriarch Explains Goals of Visit

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 15 Aug 84 p 1

[Text] Today's TERCUMAN, under the heading "The Monument of Marseille is not a Monument of Hate" and sub-titled "The strange words of the Armenian Patriarch" makes a new statement to supplement and clarify the news given yesterday:

"Yesterday morning, two reporters from TERCUMAN visited the Patriarchate and had a conversation with the Armenian Patriarch. Reminding him of the news reported by their journal the previous day, according to which the Armenian Patriarch was planning on going to visit Catholicos Vazken I considered an enemy of Turkey, they asked for his reaction to the news. His Grace the Patriarch answered that the news was based on incorrect information, that he wasn't going for the purpose of visiting the Catholicos but in order to attend a meeting convened to discuss a purely ecclesiastical matter." Then they had talked of other matters related to this question. This morning TERCUMAN writes the following about the interview: "The Armenian Patriarch of Turkey declared that he was going to Yerevan to participate in a meeting convened to discuss new regulations for the Armenian Church. The meetings will take place from 17 to 27 September, under the chairmanship of Vazken I, enemy of the Turks. The meetings will be attended by religious leaders from various countries. 'We don't recognize ASALA, author of criminal acts. Such matters will not be discussed at these meetings.'

Patriarch Shnork said also the following: 'The events are part of past history. The Monument in Marseille is not meant to be against the Turks. It has been erected in memory of all the dead suffered by the Armenian families in that region so that never again such events should occur'.

After reading the news in TERCUMAN, we contacted the Patriarchate and they informed us that the TERCUMAN news was incorrect and that His Grace the Patriarch had pronounced those words not for the Monument at Marseille but at Alfortville. It was at the unveiling of the Monument at Alfortville that Catholicos Vazken I had been present".

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## ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

### ISTANBUL PATRIARCH'S COMMUNIQUE ON HIS VISIT TO YEREVAN

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 10 Sep 84 pp 1, 4

[Text] As reported in the papers on several occasions, His Grace Shnork Archbishop Kalousdian, Patriarch of the Armenians of Turkey, sails tonight for St. Etchmiadzin. In response to the many negative comments that appeared in some papers concerning this mission, His Grace the Patriarch gave a written farewell message to the press which was broadcast on Saturday night from the television and radio stations, and reproduced in the paper BAIRAM. His Grace the Patriarch had this to say in his message:

"On the eve of Our trip to St. Etchmiadzin and in order to shed light on certain false interpretations that have appeared in the press and which could give rise to erroneous public rumours, We find it useful to draw the attention of Turkish public opinion on the following points.

Our trip to St. Etchmiadzin takes place in response to a prior invitation made to Us to preside over the meetings of a commission set up to prepare Rules and Regulations for the Armenian Church. This work was begun a long time ago but it is only recently that it has been activated in order to adapt the ageing regulations of the Church to modern conditions. Profiting from this trip to St. Etchmiadzin, We intend to extend our tour towards those cities in the United States and Canada where large numbers of our former compatriots of Armenian origin are living.

Let there be no doubt that the purpose of our trip is religious and humanitarian since We will be dealing with problems of Church rules and with strengthening our humanitarian institutions that are concerned with the moral and material welfare of our former compatriots in America. But again, let no one doubt that We shall use every occasion to make our country known in the best possible manner and to correct a number of false and unfair impressions created abroad regarding our country. We shall also be the interpreter of the feelings of the Armenian population in Turkey. In the United States, We shall keep in touch with organizations of Turkish-American friendship. Our moves are in the same direction as those of the State."

His Grace Diran Archbishop Nersoyan who is visiting our city, and Mr. Pacarad Semerdjian, a well-known public figure will travel with His Grace the Patriarch.

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

PASSAGE OF 'ARMENIAN GENOCIDE' BILL REPORTED BY TURKISH PAPER

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 11 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] Today's GUNES reports: Yesterday, the American House of Representatives approved 24 April as "Remembrance Day of Armenian Genocide."

The Bill No 244, sponsored by the Representative Toni Cuelho and declaring 24 April as Armenian Genocide Day received recognition and the Resolution was adopted by the House of Representatives. The Resolution stresses that on 24 April 1915, one and a half million Armenians perished.

This Resolution, adopted by the House of Representatives will go to the Senate and if that body approves it, 24 April will be officially known in America as "Remembrance Day Armenian Genocide."

When the Resolution in question was first introduced into the House of Representatives, Kenan Evren, President of the Republic, sent a letter to the President of the United States Ronald Reagan reminding him that if the above-mentioned Resolution were approved by the House of Representatives, Turkish-American relations would become strained.

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# GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO STREAMLINE INVESTMENT POLICIES APPLAUDED

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 812, 6 Aug 84 pp 14-15

[Analysis by 'Imad Ghanim: "After New Reform in Investment Affairs, Optimism and Hope for Solving Chronic Problems"]

[Text] We can say that there is a general feeling of satisfaction prevailing in economic circles following the announcement of the new special re-organization in the administration of investment matters in Egypt, especially concerning the establishment of a supreme council for investment under the chairmanship of the prime minister which provides that this council will be the highest authority for solving the problems this sector faces and provides that the administrative council of the investment commission works as the technical "kitchen" in which proceedings and decisions which regulate investment questions are prepared.

The new organization brings to mind a similar experience which occurred in the ministry of Mamduh Salim in 1976 when there was also a high council for investment undertaken by the administration of this sector, in addition to the commission's administrative council which consisted, at that time, of representatives of the ministries concerned and was headed by the minister of economy. The performance of this period is characterized by clear effectiveness, which resulted from the integration of the two roles (the technical and the political) through the administrative council of the commission and the supreme council for investment. Observers expect that the new administration will follow a policy with regard to the role of planning for private investment in the coming stage which is mid-way between the two previous policies which the country pursued in the last 10 years since the time of the investment law.

The motto adhered to until 1980 was that there was no place for the planning of private investment. Under this trend there appeared numerous aspects of shortcomings and excesses in investment projects throughout this period.

As a counter-reaction, recent years witnessed an increasing role for planning in private investment which even reached the level of the individual investment project. This created a kind of administrative obstacle to the progress of these projects and the investment authority experts are asking that the role of planning in the coming stage be limited to presenting the

aspects in which encouragement of private investment is necessary without extending the role of planning to deal with the details of each specific project; the investigation of that is to be left to the quarters directly concerned with these projects.

Observers believe that the formation of an administration for investment affairs at this high a level presents a real opportunity to implement a complete survey of the mountains of laws and decisions organized for this sector with the aim of rewriting the systematized rules for investment on the basis of Law 43 to make it easier to remove the bureaucracy and revive stability in the economic policies that are followed, which is an eternal quest of government technical agencies and investors alike.

The supreme council for investment likewise faces a number of urgent problems in the investment sector which represent current complications for many projects as a result of the slowness in adopting solutions to these problems. The most important of these problems is the issue of energy prices for investment companies and the matter of submitting the imports of the investment companies for inspection by import rationalization committees as well as the issue of pricing the investment sector's products. All of these are currently subject to legal proceedings. In addition, there is the necessity of reviewing a number of recent decisions issued by the administrative council of the commission, such as limiting the percentage of Egyptian participation in some projects, and other problems which have created some disparities in the way projects of the same kind are conducted.

Connected with this is also a study of the status of vital projects which require enormous capital and which have a slow return [on investment], such as land reclamation projects, inasmuch as technical opinions have concluded the necessity of using Arab and foreign capital in this field along with granting long term tax exemptions. The investment law actually did endorse that, in addition to the allocation of vast areas of land for the use of mechanization in the reclamation of these lands consistent with the economic costs of these projects. The Ministry of Planning may be able to delineate geographically the lands with the responsible ministerial authorities.

There is also still an important role for managing investment matters in the coming stage which is related to reapproving the serious projects and withdrawing licenses from other projects, in order to provide new products for the investment market in Egypt.

There remains yet another administrative issue which is not less important than the previous issues. It has to do with the return of the spirit of the investment authority's crew of workers and the renewed confidence after the period of mutual accusations and the subsequent deliberate freezing of the role of technicians in this sector. This splintered the confidence--which needed to be increased--and necessarily reflected on the performance of the investment authority itself.

This is a quick indication of the work requirements in the investment market during the coming stage in accordance with the new formation for the management of investment. There are still many issues which require further discussion.



# MUBARAK ATTEMPTS TO DEAL WITH DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

Paris LE MONDE in French 21, 22, 23 Aug 84

[Article by Eric Rouleau: "Egypt in Ferment"]

[21 Aug 84 pp 1, 5]

[Text] I. A Society Out of Control

Cairo--A flock of kids, their faces devoured by flies, wade in the mire, scaling heaps of garbage whose odor mingles with the suffocating stench given off by waste water flowing nearby. The district of Shubra al-Khaymah, like others in the Egyptian capital, has no sewer system or any street department.

The ramshackle shacks stretching along the roads still have no drinking water or electricity. People live in a promiscuity almost unbearable. Entire families: parents, children and grandparents crowd together in two tiny rooms. Unable to find any housing of their own, young people put off marriage year after year or, desperate, simply give up starting a marriage and family. The problem is compounded in an Islamic country where morals and tradition forbid keeping company between the two sexes, not to mention premarital relations.

The housing crisis is undoubtedly the major problem on people's minds. One Egyptian out of three is poorly accommodated. Authorities admit that there is a shortage of at least 3 million housing units but, lacking the means, build only 160,000 a year. In the meantime, those without homes take refuge in haphazard shanties made out of wood or sheet metal, thrown up on vacant lots or uncultivated land. Or they live on the rooftops, where they sleep outside, or live in cemeteries. Burial grounds in Cairo have tens of thousands of "death squatters" -- 500,000, according to a survey made this summer by one daily -- and despite the discomfort, the lack of any structures or services and the lack of safety resulting from gangs of criminals, the prices charged for a grave site are said to be prohibitive!

The small amount of livable space -- 5 percent of the national territory -- the burgeoning population, growing at a rate of 1.3 million a year, the limited means available to the government: All these factors combine to worsen the crisis. To relieve it, former President al-Sadat deemed it useful to give the private sector free rein, in keeping with his extreme liberal doctrine known

as *infatih* (the opening). However, real estate promoters use credit facilities, customs privileges and tax exemptions, not to build low-cost housing whose rent is controlled by the government, but rather, luxury housing, sold by the apartment, for companies or wealthy private parties. Since the profits thus realized are considerable, the supply has exceeded demand, meaning that the finer districts of Cairo now have some 150,000 unoccupied homes.

Outlandish fortunes were built under the Louis Philippe-type liberalism instituted in 1974 to take over from Nasir's socialism. With the help of real estate speculation, the price of land went up 10 to 30 times over, depending on location. One well-known journalist who had invested his savings in the purchase of a small plot of ground told us that he has become a "millionaire, without lifting a finger." Bought for 50,000 Egyptian pounds, his modest property is now worth 1.2 million pounds, or over \$1 million (value of the pound varying between \$.89 and \$1.19). Tens of thousands of landowners have joined him in being what is common called here the "parasitic bourgeoisie," made up of entrepreneurs, importers, merchants dealing in foreign products, businessmen and middlemen of every stripe who, starting from scratch, benefited from the government's generosity in order to make exorbitant profits in a very short time. The tax administration has counted, it is said, some 150,000 millionaires (in dollars). Given the extent of tax evasion, other estimates vary between 200,000 to 500,000.

Whatever the case may be, the "infatih bourgeois" do not go unnoticed. They live in palatial residences, drive high-powered automobiles, carouse in night clubs, host splendid receptions, preferably in the big hotels. One of these establishments declared a turnover of 6.5 million pounds last year for wedding receptions alone.

One can imagine better the frustrations thereby engendered when one learns that the average per capita income is under 450 pounds a year, that 5 percent of all families at the top of the social pyramid have over a quarter of the national income and that 10 percent of all Egyptians consume nearly half of the products sold.

The most deprived categories are without a doubt those of the civil servants, blue- and white-collar workers in the public sector, some 4 million persons or one-third of the active population, whose salaries are scarcely related with the ever-increasing cost of living. The minimum monthly wage of 35 pounds, paid to a beginning teacher, for example, would only be enough to buy either 6 kilograms of meat or 8 kilos of fish. An assistant lecturer at the university would have to devote his entire salary (60 pounds) to buy a readymade suit. The great majority of all government employees earn under 80 pounds a month.

Although basic commodities: bread, oil, sugar, rice, butter, tea, beans and fabrics, mainly, are subsidized by the government, inflation is about 20 percent a year, according to authorities, double that figure if one believes independent economists. The black market, the resulting scarcities and the mediocrity of the products sold at a discount often force citizens to pay the highest prices.

In order to survive, wage earners try to emigrate, resort to expeditious measures or succumb to the temptation of corruption. Bribes, the envelope passed under the table, "commissions" demanded by high officials tend to become common practice in the administration. The most scrupulous -- also the most numerous -- make ends meet by taking one and sometimes two extra jobs, to the detriment of their health and the proper functioning of public departments. Using various subterfuges to work fewer hours, civil servants undergo metamorphosis in the afternoon, turning into taxi drivers, shopkeepers, artisans or shoeshiners. One engineer explained in a letter published by a daily newspaper that that trade enabled him to triple his monthly salary of 80 pounds.

In the field of national education, this *debrouillardise* [living by wit] leads to excesses and particularly harmful trafficking. In order to earn a few extra dollars, professors guarantee that their high school or university students will pass their exams by forcing them to buy mimeographed notes or taking private lessons. Short of time, some go so far as to teach in private cars or in mass transport! More "dignified," famous professors rent auditoriums to give lecture courses, which have to be paid for in hard cash! Needless to say, the poorer students cannot afford to pay the ransom of success.

#### Brain Drain

The level of education constantly deteriorates as a result of democratization -- free education at all levels was expanded by Nasir -- and the "brain drain" that al-Sadat caused by making emigration legal in 1971. Tens of thousands of teachers and professors, generally the better ones, were then hired in oil-producing Arab countries, where they receive salaries seven and eight times higher. In general, it is thought that in four years, an expatriot will receive an income equivalent to what he would have obtained by working in Egypt for 20 to 30 years!

Although said to be sedentary and strongly rooted to their homeland, Egyptians, for the first time in their age-old history, are emigrating en masse, some to escape unemployment, others to improve their fate. They thus succeed in meeting the needs of their families, sometimes to build up a nestegg that will enable them, upon their return, to buy a house, pay for their children's marriage, or start a business. The some 4 million citizens -- out of a total of 46 million -- living in the Near East, Africa, North and South America and Australia, annually send \$3 billion home.

Emigration creates advantages, at least in the long run. It makes it possible to absorb the unemployed while injecting substantial resources in foreign exchange. It increases the purchasing power of part of the population and at the same time attenuates social tensions that remain potentially explosive, as shown by the hunger riots in January 1977.

Nevertheless, the disadvantages are patent. The departure of countless teachers, research workers, engineers, technicians, skilled workers and members of the liberal professions -- the cream of the crop -- has impoverished Egypt and created imbalances in many domains. In that of the wage earners, for example, a farm worker earns as much as an assistant lecturer, a mason or plumber more

than an undersecretary of state, an executive secretary in a private company more than double the salary of an ambassador.

Paradoxically enough, funds transferred by expatriates also help upset social balances. While giving a strong boost to inflation, they maintain an illusory prosperity in part of the population in a country that consumes more than it produces.

[22 Aug 84 p 6]

[Text] II. Search for Identity

The extreme liberal doctrine known as *infatah* (the opening), instituted by al-Sadat, has helped worsen the economic crisis. The gap has widened between the poorest population groups and those that build outrageous fortunes thanks to liberalism. To survive, wage earners try to emigrate or succumb to the temptation of corruption. Emigration has made it possible to absorb unemployment and has increased the purchasing power of part of the population, thus attenuating social tensions. Paradoxically enough, however, the funds transferred by expatriates have upset social relations, worsening inflation and creating an illusory prosperity in a country that consumes more than it produces (LE MONDE, 21 August).

Cairo--If one had to go by appearances, one would promptly conclude that Egypt is one of the most prosperous countries in the Third World. Hundreds of thousands of vehicles crisscross the country, driving bumper to bumper in the cities, causing monstrous traffic jams in the capital, which alone has some 600,000 cars. The number of autos grows at a rate of 100,000 a year.

In the heart of Cairo, in the better districts, the stores and supermarkets are stuffed with products, including those generally terms "luxury items" in developing countries. One can buy anything provided one is willing to pay the price: clothing by the best foreign designers, West German household appliances, French perfumes, Dutch cheeses, American furniture, Swiss watches.

The rural areas, where the standard of living is generally primitive, exhibit even better the upheaval that has occurred in mores because of the advent of the consumer society. The sights are sometimes quite unusual. In a town some 100 kilometers from Cairo, television antennas stick up on the rooftops of hovels and air conditioners hang out over the mud walls. And yet, electricity came here scarcely six years ago and there is still no drinking water (not an exception: Some 80 percent of the rural population has no electricity and 36 percent no drinking water).

In a neighboring village, just as delapidated, a "boutique" -- the term has been incorporated into the Arabic vocabulary -- displays, among other things, Japanese video tape recorders, transistors, tape recorders from Cyprus, fabrics and gadgets from Hong Kong.

Consumers are usually the beneficiaries of funds transferred by emigrant workers, farm workers overpaid because of the scarcity of labor, artisans equally sought-after. On the other hand, farmers, small landowners or tradesmen complain that they cannot make both ends meet. Prices for basic products, set arbitrarily by the government since the time of Nasir, no longer correspond to production costs, which are constantly rising. Some farmers have therefore given up growing such essential commodities as wheat, corn and rice, going into fruit, more profitable because free of any control.

### Laissez-Faire Strategy

In addition, the arable land area is shrinking at a rate of 25,000 hectares a year because of the rural exodus and urbanization. Consequently, with the help of stagnant production, Egypt has in a decade become one of the leading world importers of food. This year, it will devote \$5 billion dollars, or half of its foreign exchange income, to that purpose. The worst part is that it is dependent on other countries for nearly 60 percent of its food needs.

More generally speaking, the frantic consumption has largely been encouraged by the uncontrolled liberalism, the *infitah* introduced in 1974 by former President al-Sadat in order to do away with, he said, the "vices" of Nasir's socialism. Actually, the plan of the second great leader included several inseparable aspects. Above all, it sought to earn the good will of the United States, especially by turning the back on the communist camp, to end the conflict with Israel, to reassure both foreign backers and Egyptian owners by attributing a leading role to the private sector. Al-Sadat also thought he could revive the economy by bringing in Arab capital, plethora after the 1973-1974 oil boom, and joining it with Western technology and the resources of Egypt, which was to supply relatively cheap labor and abundant raw materials (cotton, iron, oil gas, and so on).

The laws set forth for this purpose heaped privileges on owners, rarely granted in other lands. Fields of activity that Nasir had reserved for the public sector, such as foreign trade, heavy industry, banking, insurance and transportation, were made accessible to private enterprise. The ceiling on profit and real estate fortunes was done away with. Free convertibility of the pound, exemptions from customs duties and taxes for a period of 8 years, renewable on certain conditions, the right to export capital and profits, guarantees given against the risk of nationalization were among the many advantages conceived to incite backers, especially foreigners, to invest.

However, the *laissez-faire* strategy did not yield the desired results. Arab capital boycotted Egypt as early as 1979 after it made peace with Israel. Against all expectations, neither the Americans nor the Europeans invested massively in a country which, politically isolated, could no longer serve as a relay station to Near Eastern markets and which, whatever the case, did not offer ideal operating conditions: a cumbersome bureaucracy, outdated, failing infrastructures, limited productivity and labor, the survival of a vast public sector and an arsenal of social laws inherited from the Nasir period and deemed too restrictive.

## Dilemma of President Mubarak

Only two fields found the favor of foreign capital: oil and finance. The some 50 Western banks established in the country thanks to infitah turned their backs on agriculture and industry. They derive most of the profits from loans and credit granted to Egyptian enterprises, which also devote themselves to non-productive activities, the importing rather than the manufacture of common consumer goods, speculative, even sometimes illicit, operations corresponding more to the mentality of a new bourgeoisie seeking immediate profits. Thus the service sector has developed over the years, some three to five times more rapidly than oil, agriculture or industry, whose decline has only worsened.

One therefore arrives at an unhealthy situation that explains the structural imbalances: Egypt invests, imports and consumes more than it produces, does not export or save. Its trade balance and balance of payments grow steadily worse. Its foreign debt of \$2 billion in 1973, the year preceding the liberalization of the economy, has increased tenfold without thereby contributing to any productive development. Funds have mainly been squandered on the purchase of consumer goods.

Foreign creditors are not worried, however. Loans were contracted for on easy conditions -- for the most part, at 3 percent interest for 30 years -- and service on the debt absorbs 25 percent of the foreign exchange receipts, compared with 62 percent in Brazil and 140 percent in Poland. Nevertheless, the situation is disturbing. Egypt will probably continue to live above its means, while its main foreign resources are deemed uncertain: Receipts from the exportation of oil, funds repatriated by emigrants, royalties from the Suez Canal and tourism all depend on the regional and international situations that are beyond the control of Egypt.

Whatever the case, austerity measures are indispensable in order to check imports and make up the budgetary deficit. The United States and the International Monetary Fund have found nothing better than to demand the elimination of subsidies helping basic products, lacking which -- they pointed out -- Egypt would not be able to receive new loans. Reasonable in absolute terms, such a measure is politically risky in a country where, it is estimated, some 37 percent of the people were already living under the poverty line. Did it not cause hunger riots this year in Tunisia, Morocco and Brazil? The defenders of "economic orthodoxy" perhaps have short memories and undoubtedly lack imagination. They have suggested neither the abolition of the exorbitant privileges granted to foreign enterprises or the institution of a strict system of taxation that could bring in several billions of dollars. One must add here that tax evasion alone cost the government from \$2 billion to \$3 billion this year that it should have received.

The dilemma which this problem poses for President Mubarak is on a par with the situation his predecessor left to him. The Sadat policy of infitah in its two main aspects: economic liberalism and close cooperation with the United States, helped only a minority of the population. Peace with Israel cut Egypt off from its Arab hinterland, while giving the Hebrew state more means to pursue its war against the Arab belligerents. Likewise, the "American dream" vanished

as the Egyptians realized that Uncle Sam was not, as they had been led to believe, going to inundate their country with dollars to reward the prodigal son for returning to the Western fold!

And yet, despite his determination to rectify the situation, President Mubarak will have a difficult time changing directions. "Egypt's dependency on the United States," one Western diplomat privately states, "is irreversible." "We are a country under tutelage," says one Egyptian chronicler. Whatever the case, the government's room to maneuver is singularly limited. Egypt depends on Washington, among other things, for most (70 percent) of the financial aid it receives for its supplies (75 percent of its wheat consumption, for example), to equip its army, to work and market its oil, to modernize its infrastructures. Having ended the diversification of its trade following the break with the East, Egypt exports 70 percent of its products to the West and buys from it 80 percent of its products, many of them not indispensable.

A cautious man if ever there was one, President Mubarak has still managed to make slight corrections in the operation of the infitah. He has stepped up control of credit, limited the importation of luxury products and slightly reduced some subsidies.

In addition, he is trying to keep more of a distance from American policy, while trying to avoid a confrontation. He has restored diplomatic relations with the USSR at the embassy level after a 3-year quarrel. Going against Washington's wishes, he has "frozen" the Camp David Accords and normalization with Israel and refuses to send his ambassador to Tel Aviv before the total withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. He has made up with Yassir 'Arafat, while advising the president of the PLO to build bridges with American diplomacy.

Speaking more generally, President Mubarak presents himself as an "authentic Nasirian," a defender of nonalignment of the public sector and of the "gains of the workers and peasants." In order better to express his determination to return to the sources of the Egyptian revolution, al-Sadat's name and his accomplishments are generally stricken from official discourse.

It remains to be seen whether rhetoric and timid reforms will suffice to dissipate the confusion, even disarray stirred up by a society in the midst of change. Egyptians no longer know which direction to face when they pray. In the space of a generation, scarcely three decades, they have gone from a monarchy to a republic, from socialist austerity to capitalist free-handedness, from egalitarianism to social polarization, from enlightened despotism to a guided democracy, from anti-Zionist activism to a separate peace with Israel, from an alliance with the USSR to the "Catholic marriage" with the United States, from militant Arabism to a frantic "Westernization," diametrically opposed to the Arab-Islamic culture.

Televisions brings into homes American series that have nothing to do with the thinking or concerns of Egyptians deprived of the most basic comfort. The latter are totally disconcerted by foreign advertising that boasts the merits of some 40 different brands of shampoo whose very purpose they do not know.



The half-naked girls with the languid gestures showing their bikinis or some alcoholic beverage shock them. In this eminently prudish country, the most shocking thing of all is the recent proliferation of private projection rooms where pornographic films imported from abroad are projected on video cassette recorders.

The dissolution of morals, the disintegration of traditional values going hand in hand with alienating living conditions, are generally attributed to an immoral, depraved capitalist West. The cultural shock gives rise to contradictory behavior. The girls one sees, some dressed in skin-tight bluejeans and their hair streaming loose, the others in long robes and their heads hidden behind the *hijab*, the Islamic scarf, bear witness to a schizophrenic society in which everyone is seeking an identity, each in his own way.

[23 Aug 84 p 4]

[Text] III. The Buoy of Islam

The frantic consumption encouraged by the policy of *infitah* has not put the economy back on its feet. In order to try to rectify the situation, President Mubarak has made slight corrections in the operation of the *infitah* and is trying to assume his distance from American policy. However, the disarray roused by a schizophrenic society in the midst of change has engendered an identity crisis that feeds the constantly expanding Islamic current (LE MONDE, 21, 22 August).

Cairo--"In a year, in two years, the Muslim extremists will be in power in Egypt," murmurs Husayn Amin, director of the Diplomatic Academy in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in a disillusioned way. Amin is mainly known for his writings favoring a secular state. Farag Fouda, who wages the same fight, is just as pessimistic: "Either we shall fall under the rod of men of religion, as in Iran, or we shall plunge into a Lebanese-type religious war or -- and this is more likely -- we shall suffer a combination of the two calamities."

One Copt politician (name given to Christians in Egypt and Ethiopia, most of whom belong to an Eastern "schismatic" church) wishing to remain anonymous confides his distress: "I scarcely dare to admit it, but for the first time in my life, I am afraid, very afraid. The shadow of a uniformed Khomeyni hangs over this country and in the near future, perhaps, the Copts will perhaps be forced to take up arms to defend their right to full citizenship." A brilliant lawyer, rich and famous, our interlocutor had always felt "totally integrated, as Egyptian as the pyramids and the Nile." He once repeated what an illustrious predecessor, Makram 'Ubayd Pacha, one of the leaders of the nationalist revolution, proclaimed in the 1930's and 1940's: "I am a Copt by religion, a Muslim by national affiliation." Our friend continued, in an aggrieved tone: "I fear that the unfolding of the Islamic wave will make me a 100-percent Copt, a supporter of a religious extremism as regressive as that of our adversaries."

Everyone agrees: Islam, in this country where secularism has been the mortar of national unity, is now becoming the main force on the political scene.



Since the law forbidding the creation of a party based on exclusively religious criteria, all authorized groups vie with one another claiming themselves to be the champions of the precepts of the Prophet. In the May legislative elections, they had all included militant shaykhs on their lists of candidates, sometimes at the very top. The New Wafd went so far as to leave out its secular and liberal traditions and sacrifice a goodly share of its Copt voters, presenting under its label members of the Muslim Brotherhoods and more radical Islamic associations, at least eight of which sit in the current Parliament.

The organ of the Muslim Brotherhoods, AL-DA'WAH (the preaching) has been banned since September 1981 and all newspapers thus provide space in their columns for the fundamentalists. The National Democratic Party (NDP) in power has gone one step further: It has put out an additional publication, AL-LIWA' AL-ISLAMI (the Islamic standard), in principle in order to fight the positions of the maximalists, but often going them one better on its own! The same is true of AL-NUR (the light), published by the Liberal Party (Nasirian right), a recent survey of which nearly led the Club Mediterranee to close one of its resort villages, the Magawiche, accused of spreading "debauchery" and "depravation" among young people. The Socialist Labor Party calls for the closing of distilleries and a ban on the consumption of alcohol.

#### Total Enforcement of Sharia?

All the groups, with the exception of the underground Communist Party, still preach in their programs the application of the Sharia (the law of God, based on the Koran, the Sunna and the different legislative texts drafted over the centuries) instead and in place of existing legislation, mainly based on the Napoleonic Code. But their hearts are not in it. The issue, scarcely brought up during the election campaign, is handled with obvious mental restrictions. The PND, loyal to the constitutional text introduced in 1971 by former President al-Sadat, would make the Sharia "the main source of legislation."

As for the Neo Wafd, its president, Fouad Serageddine, told us: "Our legislation is already based on the precepts of the Koran. Slight modifications will be needed here and there to make it totally in keeping with the Sharia." And if one insists on knowing whether the penal code should "be adapted" so that theft will be punished by the amputation of the hand, adultery by stoning, and the consumption of alcohol by flogging, Fouad Pacha evasively replies that "the matter is not on the agenda," then vehemently exclaims: "Whatever the case, we shall never accept the establishment of a theocratic state!" This is not the opinion of his fundamentalist "allies," loyal to the nature of Islam, which does not distinguish the temporal from the sacred. What would be the attitude of the leaders of the Neo Wafd on the day when Islamic members of its own group in Parliament demand, as they will not fail to do, the overall application of the Sharia?

The challenge will be formidable, even for a party like the Progressive Rally, led by Marxists and leftist Nasirians. Also forced to support the principle of Islamization, out of respect for the constitution just as much as for election calculations, the group of Khalid Muhi-al-Din has created its own way out by stating that the Sharia should only "inspire" the lawmaker and that it was nevertheless subject to *ijtihad* (the effort of interpretation prescribed

by Islam) and therefore to evolution. In spite of everything, one of its main leaders explained to us, it would be very difficult, even impossible, for the Progressive Rally to openly oppose the prohibition of alcohol, for example, given the massive popular support that such a measure would gain.

The hour of reckoning cannot be far away. Those in the worst position will be those with the power to make decisions. Actually, the eight committees responsible under al-Sadat for amending the different legal codes to make them compatible with the Sharia concluded their work in December, after five years of beating around the bush. The series of bills they drafted should normally be submitted to this legislative session. Will the NDP, with an absolute majority of the seats in Parliament, be able to deny the legitimate offspring of its own policy? Will it again pass a law whose text has already been backed by the Council of State, instituting censorship over writings dealing with Islamic questions? According to the text, drafted at the prompting of Shaykh Al-Azhar (rector of the Islamic University), no book could be printed without the previous consent of a commission of ulemas, lacking which the editor and author would be liable to a fine, a prison sentence or both.

#### State Indulgence Toward Clerics

"It is an inquisition! They are in the process of insidiously building a church, a clerical system that Islam itself condemns!" Husayn Amin angrily exclaims, complaining of the excessive indulgence of the government toward the clergy. Following the pressing demands of Shaykh Al-Azhar to the president of the republic, reports the director of the Diplomatic Academy, the weekly AL-MUSAWWAR, in which he waged a campaign against the fundamentalists, has refused to publish his articles since April.

And yet, the government wants an ideological confrontation, hoping that it will end with the discredit of its Islamic adversaries. But the televised debates organized for the purpose have generally served the cause of the fundamentalists. The representatives of "official" Islam actually defend the most regressive convictions, out of conviction, demagoguery or one-upmanship. Shaykh Sha'rawim for example, probably chosen because of his great popularity throughout the Arab world, came out for the prohibition of alcohol, including foreign diplomats, and for the exclusion of women from the working world. One day, he deplored the introduction of electricity into rural areas, claiming that it encourages laziness. Another government "supporter," Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali, in response to a fundamentalist contradictor who asked him whether or not it would be "legitimate" to assassinate the president of the republic if the latter should deviate from "God's law" (the Shariah), calmly answered: "The question is worthy of debate."

Complacency, a cautious style, the use of obscure arguments in order to fight radical Islam have all turned out to be futile. "We are warning people against secular habits that copy the habits of Islam in order to alienate Muslim young people from their religion by a discourse as sweet as it is poisonous," wrote 'Umar al-Talmasani, the supreme guide of the Muslim Brotherhood ("Le Prophete et Pharaon (les Mouvements Islamistes dans l'Egypte Contemporaine)", by Gilles Kepel, Editions La Decouverte, 1984). The defenders of an

evolutionist-type Islam, adapted to the realities of contemporary society, just as much as the supporters of a secular society, are combined in the same infamy, denounced as "impious" and "atheists." Nearly all the newspapers hesitate and often refuse to publish their arguments. Some of them, particularly Husayn Amin and Farag Fouda, receive, in addition to moving letters of support, death threats. Thus, "intellectual terrorism, claiming divine right," to use the phrase of the famous writer Tawfiq al-Hakim, silences many intellectuals and journalists, while damaging the capacity of the government to resist the thrust of the fundamentalists.

To accommodate the latter, the government has increased its concessions. Religious instruction in the schools, radio and television programs devoted to theology have been intensified. Real estate promoters enjoy tax exemptions when they endow a mosque with housing. The patriarch of the Copt Church, Shinuda III, arbitrarily removed from office and banished to a monastery by al-Sadat in 1981, is under house arrest, essentially, it is thought, in order to keep in time with the repression exercised against Islamic associations, mainly dissolved. It will be necessary to await the outcome of the trial of some 300 members of the Djihad, who risk the death penalty for armed sedition, in order for the fate of Shinuda III to be settled. The latter is accused of "religious fanaticism" endangering national unity.

#### Time Bomb

In spite of everything, the Islamic associations, whether or not they are banned, proliferate and sow the "good word" thanks to the thousands of mosques they use as platforms and rallying places and thanks also to the many philanthropic societies they have set up to provide needy citizens the social benefits that the government does not have the means to offer them. Taking advantage of the political vacuum created by 30 years of authoritarianism, exercised under the single-party system or under the cover of an illusory liberalism and the continuing absence, since al-Sadat's regime, of an overall national or social design, the fundamentalists present the alternative of an Islamic state as a panacea for all the evils afflicting Egyptian society. The new order, the very one the Prophet and his companions, the "founding fathers," instituted 14 centuries ago, would bring equality and social justice, do away with the "vices" and "turpitude" introduced by the Christian West or the impious East, would restore the people's traditions, mores, identity and certainties that Nasir's "socialism," al-Sadat's "liberalism" or "atheist" Marxism undermined, even destroyed. None of the fundamentalists set forth any precise political, economic or social program and do not clearly indicate the means which they intend to use to found their ideal society. Simplicity and vagueness are undoubtedly conceived to rally and mobilize the greatest possible number of people.

They are thus doubly incomprehensible, a close adviser to President Mubarak confided to us. They infiltrate everywhere, get themselves elected in the trade unions, corporate and sociocultural associations, trying to make up the core of the armed forces. "It is easy to tell a Marxist soldier," our interlocutor said, "but how can you spot militant Islamists? They are pious and practice their religion, which is common. They lead a virtuous life, which is not

a crime. They rise up against corruption, social injustice, the dissolute life, which makes them attractive to their comrades." Recruitment, the formation of cells independent of one another, done in the greatest secrecy, often makes them invulnerable.

"The wells are poisoned; it is too late to purify them," some secular intellectuals say in despair, like Farag Fouda. Others, less alarmist, believe, along with Ahmad Baha'-al-Din, that the very real danger is tempered by "the profoundly tolerant nature of the Egyptians." Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal expresses the unanimous view: "We are in the presence of a time bomb. The recipient is Islamic; the content, highly explosive, is a mixture of dissipated dreams, disillusionment, frustration, the repressed anger of a people overwhelmed by economic, social, cultural and national problems." More than a refuge, Islam is perceived as a lifesaver in a society adrift.

The remedy? Repression, dialogue, concessions tend rather to give increased value to the Islamist trend. The crisis feeding it is too complex to be absorbed so quickly. The general opinion is that only a democracy worthy of the name, permitting all ideologies -- including the Islamic -- to express themselves in complete freedom, all parties, whether legal or currently banned, to operate normally, could encourage change, outside of any sedition or violence.

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VARIOUS PARTY LEADERS DISCUSS OUJDA AGREEMENT

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1453, 7 Sep 84 pp 28-31

[Article by 'Afaf Zayn: "AL-HAWADITH's Symposium with Moroccan Party Leaders: The Oujda Agreement Is a Pleasant Surprise!"]

[Text] Morocco is now going through a sensitive, extremely delicate stage suffused with events of a high level of importance. The most conspicuous of these are the establishment of the Maghreb Federation with Libya and the elections which are to take place in the middle of this month to choose the members of the leadership council, with the goal of creating legislative institutions that are fit and qualified to bear responsibility.

AL-HAWADITH talked with three Moroccan figures who have influence in Moroccan political life regarding the various new elements and issues which Morocco is facing now: M'Hamed Boucetta, the secretary general of the Istiqlal Party, the father of Moroccan parties since the period of the French Protectorate, and in addition a minister or state for foreign affairs and close companion of Morocco's steps in the Arab world.

Mahjoubi Ahardane, the secretary general of the Popular Movement, which is no less venerable than the Istiqlal Party, representing the Berbers of Morocco and a broad segment of the peasants and workers; minister of state for labor affairs in the Moroccan government.

Ahmed Osman, who headed the Moroccan cabinet for 7 years; secretary general of the National Liberal Grouping to which a substantial number of intellectuals belong, alongside businessmen and economists.

It was not possible to bring the three participants in the conversation together at a single symposium because of the nature of their work. AL-HAWADITH embarked on this task by posing similar questions in order to determine the extent to which their views concerning specific issues coincided or differed.

AL-HAWDITH: What is your opinion about the measures the Moroccan government has taken in order to make the democratic experiments a success in the coming parliamentary elections? Did interference occur in the previous elections?

M'Hamed Boucetta: In reality, we want the political administration of the pursuit of parliamentary elections to manifest itself in a sound climate without any encroachment from the administrative authorities.

What was always to be criticized was that the men in power, and I do not mean the men in power in the narrow sense, were the ones who interfered.

Not a few acts of interference occurred in the previous elections. The acts were not on an individual level or directly concerned with specific persons; rather, they extended to the people's interests. Here in Morocco we have what is called the Department of National Revival, an official administrative agency. Since it spends government money employing people, its intervention has been represented by pressure on the people who deal with it to cast their votes for a specific body; in my opinion this is flagrant intervention and is contrary to the democratic experience in Morocco. There are other agencies, for example the National Cooperation Agency, which does not belong to the Ministry of the Interior, and agencies belonging to other ministries, such as the Ministries of Equipment, Agriculture and Education.

We have always said, and stressed, that such acts of intervention as that corrupt the true representative vision of deputies or counsellors. We in the Istiqlal Party spoke out loudly following the terrible, scandalous acts of intervention that took place in the municipal and village elections held on 19 June 1983. The Istiqlal Party, following these events, presented a request to meet his majesty the king to explain the gravity of intervention in the coming elections. His majesty agreed generously with our viewpoint. The current cabinet, the cabinet his majesty appointed after the village and municipal elections, was distinguished in that it formed a special committee made up of the ministers of state and the leaders of the parties taking part in the cabinet, along with the prime minister, the minister of the interior, the minister of information and the minister of justice, to take care to adopt the measures necessary to eliminate the intervention and other obstacles.

As regards the measures the government has taken, including the statute on election lists which have been reviewed, some errors were rectified in the course of the election campaign. In addition, there was agreement in the ministerial committee concerned with close oversight over the elections, and this is made up of party representatives. In addition to that, the party representatives are given the chance to participate in the election campaign by means of television, and they have been permitted to put representatives of theirs in every region to draw the attention of the local authorities to any interference or violation which the aides of the administrative authorities might commit.

These are all good, constructive measures, and I do not believe that the desired change will be fully realized overnight. We will try to reform what we can.

Mahjoubi Ahardane: Democracy in Morocco as a system of government did not arise today. Rather, it has deep roots in our society, and our customs and traditions have become crystallized around it. The Moroccan government, on

such national occasions, takes the material and moral measures necessary to hold the elections in a sound atmosphere.

Our hope is that we will not violate this point, so that the citizen will be free in his choice, on the basis of the royal directives in this regard, and so that the results will occur in accordance with the country's political map.

Ahmed Osman: I do not consider that the measures the government has taken to make a success of the democratic process in Morocco and carry out free, clean elections far removed from acts of interference, in terms of the obvious responsibilities that every government has the obligation of meeting, are exceptional in character. I hope the day will come when Moroccan governments will be able to supervise every election, parliamentary or municipal, in a spontaneous, natural manner and that Morocco will not continue to need to have a cabinet appointed or special committee designated to supervise the proper course of the elections. I believe that democracy is a style and platform of political action and daily life, and therefore we cannot impart the climate of democracy to any political experiment by official requests or in response to the wishes of a specific committee.

AL-HAWADITH: What role have you played following your appointment as ministers of state in the Moroccan cabinet to make the experiment of the coming elections a success? What steps have you taken in this regard which will be applied and put into effect in the following elections?

M'Hamed Boucetta: My work is concentrated on the ministerial committee which will supervise the coming parliamentary elections and is concerned with preparing for them. My efforts as minister of state in his majesty's government and as secretary general of the Istiqlal Party have assumed the form of enlightening public opinion in the party on the need to take part in the elections for the sake of the greatest possible reform as far as the democratic process goes. This is a great effort and an obvious burden.

People, especially those who took part in previous elections, have despaired over the benefit of taking part in the vote and have constantly talked about the futility of their patronizing the ballot boxes. The Istiqlal Party has done everything in its power to make these persons who feel despair understand that participation is a necessary, urgent matter for the country's future.

In the context of the party, I have exerted great effort to review the quality of our candidates and I have been concerned that they meet a number of conditions for entering the election campaigns. On this occasion the party has been given a good opportunity to rejuvenate the party personnel by bringing in young people.

Mahjoubi Ahardane: My role as minister of state in the government has been to express the Popular Movement's view regarding the climate in which the elections, which we hope will be devoid of dubious elements so that our consciences and the interests of the Moroccan citizens may be satisfied, are to take place.



My role as secretary general of the Popular Movement is that of the person in charge of organizing the movement, which represents a broad segment of the citizens, as well as its ongoing presence, as a party, on the political stage in various areas of the country, since I attend meetings with personnel and head up meetings and festivals throughout the year, from the base to the leadership. I do not wait for such occasions as the coming parliamentary elections to work on behalf of Morocco and Moroccan citizens. Our goal in the Popular Movement is to restore credit to our democratic course, restore confidence in ourselves, lest we feel despair over previous election experiences, and take part in casting our votes and choosing our representatives. A single experiment does not mean the end of the road.

Ahmed Osman: My role as minister of state in the Moroccan government is not different from my responsibilities as chairman of the National Grouping of Liberals. I am in his majesty's government because I represent my party. What we have done through the party and its institutions to make the democratic experiment in Morocco a success has no relation to my position as minister of state and participating member of the ministerial committee assigned to watch closely over the management of electoral affairs and protect them from interference.

I also say that the party's slogans do not change, and nothing new is added to them during the election seasons. We believe in the democratic process within our party organizations and seek to make this faith a general one among all Moroccan citizens, whether they are on our side or on others'. Democracy is an urgent, just demand and our party program seeks to realize this demand in stages, because, if democracy is not accompanied by awareness and responsibility, it can turn into chaos, controversy and anarchy.

There is no room here to enter into details on what our party has done in this area. The lesson is in the results.

M'Hamed Boucetta: In reality, I should point to an important matter, which is the presence of a group which defends its interests and does not want to have real parliamentary representative institutions in Morocco, lest a conflict with their interests occur; this group is not functioning in a clear, organized manner and this causes despair to find its way among people, helps people lose sight of the facts and creates a spirit of indifference among Moroccan citizens so that these representative institutions will not be established.

For this reason it is necessary to draw serious attention to this phenomenon and enlighten people about it and about its risks and the role the Moroccan citizen must play:

First, participating fully in basic choices in the economic, social and cultural field, with the goal of directing foreign policy and participating in legislation regarding these fields, is a necessity in the nation's life.

Second, overseeing the executive agency when it proceeds to apply these choices. This means democracy and it also means constitutional sovereignty, as far as we are concerned.



AL-HAWADITH: What are the most important segments of your electoral program, on the basis of which you will enter into the coming parliamentary elections? How many seats do you predict you will win?

M'Hamed Boucetta: It is difficult to predict. I am not saying that our party's victory will be overwhelming. What has been realized so far as far as we are concerned is that since the Istiqlal Party is prominent all over the country, we will nominate candidates from our party in all election districts. There is difficulty in talking about the percentage of victory and the number of seats it is expected will be won. There are traditional districts in which fighting party members are present in a very strong fashion in a practical sense, places where the workers are a majority, for instance ports, mines and other workers' sectors.

The same is the case in rural areas which support the Istiqlal Party. There are some sections in the major cities, such as the university villages, where the Istiqlal Party is conspicuously present, owing the activity of real fighting members. It is hard to say what the percentage of victory will be because the results will depend on the probity of the elections.

Regarding the program of the Istiqlal Party, which is entering into the experiment of the coming parliamentary elections in a positive, optimistic spirit, it is willing to participate, under conditions where the elections are free from interference. We will try to realize and guarantee this freedom. This is a basic turning point as far as the development of Morocco goes, if we want real constitutional legitimacy. Therefore it cannot be founded on frail institutions, or everyone will be overwhelmed.

An obvious point in our program is support for the notion of unifying Moroccan ranks to defend the unity of the territory and rally around the king on the issue of defending the nation. In our election program, priority is given to coping with the economic crisis by devoting attention to the basic areas, by guaranteeing work and developing agriculture in particular.

Also, preparing and marketing what can be produced from the ocean: Morocco's coasts cover a distance of 3,500 kilometers. We must also cope with the crisis by exercising discipline and austerity in our lives.

The Istiqlal Party also aspires to have a suitable place found for every academic student and to have university education expanded. We should not say more than this, lest we be accused of merely raising slogans. As far as foreign policy goes, our position is well known to everyone.

Mahjoubi Ahardane: The lesson as far as we are concerned is not in the number of seats but in mobilizing and participating in building up and supporting the structure of democracy so that it will become a model which is followed. We are not asking for probity and neutrality, except to have our share of the seats equal our presence in the various areas of the country, because our movement can be found on every grain of Morocco's soil. As regards our program, that is summarized in the slogan of our former group in the Chamber of Deputies, genuineness and social justice in its true sense; the recommendations of our conferences contain further detail.

I anticipate results which are in keeping with the aspirations of the Moroccan people and their belief in democracy.

Ahmed Osman: Probity and justice in giving all citizens an opportunity to cast their votes. These matters are among the demands which have priority as far as our grouping goes. We are not concerned with the number of seats and it is difficult to predict the ratio of the victory in the coming parliamentary elections. The most important thing in our program, like others in parliament, single individuals or whole groups, is to give everyone the opportunity to express opinions, bring about reform, use the nation's resources and distribute them in a fair manner, and provide education for everyone and everyone who wants to get one.

AL-HAWADITH: What is your view on the establishment of the Arab-African Federation between Morocco and Libya? Do you expect that this federation will flourish, grow and develop? What is your opinion on Morocco's Middle East policy?

M'Hamed Boucetta: The union with Libya was a surprise in view of the nature of things. There is no cause for amazement as far as Morocco and its longing to unite with its brothers in the framework of North Africa or the Arab East are concerned. Some matters have been obvious, as far as we are concerned, even before independence, such as our desire and will to create groups of countries in the area such as a federation of countries or a confederation founded on clear bases and carefully studied structures.

The goal in this is to protect ourselves from colonialists. There is no need to mention what brings us and our brothers in Africa or the Middle East together. This will to demand union is founded on an actual situation: we, from the economic standpoint, face European groups whose goal is to take our raw resources at the price they want, then export them to us and sell them to us at the price they want. If we stand as a single bloc, that will protect us and strengthen our influence when we deal with the Western exporting countries.

In addition, in the area of culture and education, coordination is needed; cultural colonialism is more dangerous than political colonialism, and we can confront it through better means if we are united.

Joint action by us and Libya in the Arab world will undoubtedly be more complete and diverse. In its self-sacrifice, a united Maghreb will be more feasible and effective than if it continues to be broken down among different countries and positions which are working apart from one another. Morocco's Middle East policy is wise and intelligent and it entails much realism and thorough reflection. I do not expect that Moroccan activity will change after the signing of the agreement with Libya. To the contrary, I expect that the Moroccan role will have good repercussions in every respect in its new unity stage. To be totally frank, a thorny issue still is pending in Morocco, and that is the issue of the Sahara. The more Morocco finds parties that will help it defend its rights, the more it must pay attention to and rally around these parties.

The basic point in the matter is the activity of Col al-Qadhdhafi, who is a member of the League of Arab States and the Islamic Conference, in finding a way out of the Sahara issue. Morocco cannot reject an agreement such as the Oujda agreement which is the beginning of a just solution to the problem of the Sahara, and the union will open up broad horizons for both countries in various areas.

I believe that Morocco will try to preserve this union as long as possible. Many people opposed to this federation will try to make it fail as far as Morocco's policy concerning the basic Arab cause, Palestine and Jerusalem, goes. I am very sorry about the fabricated disputes among Palestinian brothers, and this is the approach all of Morocco takes. When the situation demanded that Morocco fight and offer martyrs alongside its Arab brothers it did so unstintingly. In addition, Morocco tried to unify Arab ranks around a minimum of political action embodied in the Fez plan, but disputes overwhelmed everything.

Mahjoubi Ahardane: We in the Popular Movement have ceaselessly called for the unity of the Maghreb and worked to achieve it, before and after independence. Today we welcome the treaty of union between Morocco and Libya and congratulate ourselves and the fraternal people of Libya for it.

I also hope that all the countries of the Maghreb will follow suit, and I hope that this federation will have a long life. That of course depends on the presence of good will in both parties. Moroccan policy in the Middle East is distinguished by truthfulness, realism, careful thought and consideration for all sides of the picture.

Ahmed Osman: There is no doubt that the historic Oujda meeting was a major surprise. That is not strange, since surprises which bring happiness and sorrow are both possible in politics. The establishment of the Arab African Federation between Morocco and Libya is a surprise which brings happiness and is the beginning of a relaxation in the framework of the Maghreb and the Arab world.

The demand for unification is an obvious matter, one that is desired among Arab Islamic countries because the challenges are numerous and the enemies are increasing.

Morocco's policy, whether related to its own causes or national commitments with the Arab world, is characterized by realism and quiet activity far removed from slogans and demagogy. It is an intelligent policy which arises from a clear plan of action and moral national commitments. A sincere Moroccan can only wish the union with Libya the greatest prosperity and endurance. Its bounties will extend to Morocco and Libya alike, and the future is dependent on the intentions of the parties concerned.

AL-HAWADITH: Some time ago, a Jewish conference was held in Morocco which was attended by the crown prince, Moulay Mohamed, and the prime minister. An Israeli delegation consisting of representatives of the Likud bloc and deputies of the Labor Party also took part in its sessions, as Israel was announcing its intentions on transferring the embassies to Jerusalem, changing

the features of the city and surrounding it with a number of settlements. One should bear in mind that Morocco, represented by his majesty, chairs the Jerusalem Committee which is a subsidiary of the Islamic Conference Organization. What is your opinion on this?

M'Hamed Boucetta: Before all else one must put this Jewish meeting which was held in Morocco in its proper perspective; otherwise, it will be subjected to political analyses which will attempt to cast aspersions on Morocco's status and role as a Moslem and Arab country which has its commitments regarding the prime Arab cause, Palestine, and confrontation with the Zionist enemy.

The Jewish community has existed in Morocco for a long time and it has deep roots in history. Included in this community are people who live abroad. In view of the laws which regulate political life in Morocco, this Moroccan community has the right to hold political meetings.

The Jewish conference this year was not the first Jewish conference to be held in Morocco. It is an annual tradition. What is new about the conference this year is that it was held in the context of specific Arab political circumstances, following the Fez resolutions and the latest Islamic conference.

Regarding the presence of Israeli figures, Morocco tries to use every means to win as many cards and win over as many people, including Jews, as it can. This is to the benefit of the Palestinian cause and Arab causes in general. This is a basic principle in Moroccan foreign policy.

Morocco, which is 5,000 miles from the real confrontation with Israel, has no need or ulterior motive which it is trying to gain, intrinsically or personally; rather, it is trying to facilitate the resolution to the prime Arab cause, and that is Hassan the Second's desire, for which he has worked for 7 years in foreign policy.

As secretary general of the Istiqlal Party, I did not attend the Jewish conference, which I was invited to. Rather, I sent someone to attend in my place; I was concerned to have the Jewish people at the conference hear our point of view. I would also like to point out that I did not receive a list of the names of the people taking part, and did not know that the Israeli delegation was coming from Palestine.

I expressed my opinion to the people at the conference, which is that there would be no solution to the issue of the Middle East except by taking stock of the Palestinian people's right to exist and determine their destiny and that the Palestine Liberation Organization was the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Therefore our Arab brothers must understand the true context of this conference in an objective manner and understand that Morocco has not abandoned its commitments or its intention to gain anything for itself, except that which will help resolve the Palestinian cause.

Mahjoubi Ahardane: Morocco, its king and people, have made the cause of Palestine and the Palestinian people one of its main concerns in the Arab and international fields. The king's efforts in this regard are obvious and well known. He is the one who chairs the committee on the city of Jerusalem. Does the holding of a conference for Moroccan Jews on the territory of Morocco involve anything which might be considered an infringement of or cast aspersions on the Arab causes?

Anyone who believes that it does harbors ill will toward Morocco and its positions. According to our Moroccan political traditions, the Moroccan Jewish community can invite whoever it wants to its annual conference, and any statement in that area which is contrary in terms of interpretation and analysis is an interference in Morocco's internal affairs and an infringement of its sovereignty over its own territory and its citizens alike. I hope that our Arab brothers will be intelligent and realize the wisdom of the maxim which holds "Where do you eat shoulders from?" in order to distinguish between word and deed.

Ahmed Osman: Why all this hubbub, noise and commotion? Every year the Jewish Moroccan community holds its conference and invites its members living abroad who came from Israel, basically born in Morocco, to it, including David Levi. The holding of the conference this year did not have political goals.

Let people who interfere desist from intruding in the affairs of Morocco, on whose genuineness and sincerity we will not allow aspersions to be cast.

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CSO: 4504/445

AFTERMATH OF ELECTIONS ASSESSED

Beirut AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 23, 17 Sep 84 pp 1, 2

[Text]

These are crucial days for King Hassan of Morocco and it is yet to be seen whether last week's parliamentary elections, designed to throw popular support behind the monarchy, may not instead open the regime up to criticism of its economic policy and further political divisions.

The election, coming just two weeks after the overwhelming endorsement of Morocco's bid for unity with Libya, has served to rally popular support for the king, but has also strengthened the position of the newer parties at the expense of the more traditional ones. There is every reason to believe that this will lead to popular demand for better management of the economy and a more open political system. In the elections, the socialist party — the Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires (USFP) — doubled its representation in the 1977 parliament, to win 34 seats in the new house.

The unity agreement was one important step towards strengthening the Moroccan government internationally, by removing Libyan support from the Polisario and by shoring up the country's diplomacy vis-à-vis Algeria and Tunis. King Hassan is now looking for support at home to match the new support from abroad.

King Hassan is astute to open up the electoral process and it is likely that the increased vote for the socialists more accurately reflects their true support among the electorate than previous elections have done. From their new position, the socialists can be expected to press for more socially-oriented economic policies, which may come up sharp against the current open-market regime. The extra support for the socialists has been at the expense of the more traditional

parties, such as the Istiqlal, who lost considerable ground. It is likely that this marks the beginning of the long-term demise of the older parties, whose constituents are now dying off and whose policies are seen less and less relevant to Morocco's contemporary problems.

The biggest single party in the new parliament is the newly-formed Constitutional Union (although a number of socialists may also enter the coalition government), which won 55 of the elected seats. The party is, itself, centrist, but enjoys strong royal patronage. The Constitutional Union, which is a dynamic movement with a well-defined political image, may yet come to be the vehicle through which King Hassan allows a further opening up of the political system, while still keeping strict court control over the fundamental issues, such as the monarchist nature of the political system and the sovereignty over the Western Sahara.

However, political reforms are in the offing, if for no other reason than that the king is anxious to get widespread and popular support as Morocco has to face up to a period of declining economic fortunes brought about by huge foreign debt, poor export sales and the continuing high cost of imports. The recent IMF package required the usual drastic conditions: devaluation of the dirham, abolition of consumer subsidies and a more liberal foreign trade policy.

While the changes were hardly discussed before being announced, other measures, particularly the removal of consumer subsidies on foodstuffs, convulsed Morocco in a political crisis and anti-government demonstrations, which still affect the political atmosphere. In the event, subsidies were restored and public spending adjusted accordingly, but the problem has not gone away for good.

The economic problems are going to persist into the immediately foreseeable future: phosphate exports are down; so are citrus exports, partly because of the recent drought. Nor will this latter problem be helped by the difficulties that are bound to follow Spain and Portugal's accession to the European common market, which, despite negotiating difficulties, is still scheduled for January 1st, 1985. At the same time, imports — particularly of oil — are a continuing and heavy burden and one that may worsen in the short term as current import restrictions are relaxed.

In addition, the war in the Western Sahara is a continuing drain both on the country's economic re-

sources and on political morale. But while the war has widespread support, it is not without its economic consequences for the great mass of Moroccan people who are poor and overwhelmingly young and who constitute a growing demand for spending on schools, hospitals and jobs.

Considering the complexity of Morocco's problems, support for the existing political set up is, perhaps surprisingly, strong, as the reported 80 per cent turnout at last week's poll suggested. A dozen parties, ranging across the spectrum of political ideologies, took part, albeit within the broadly-accepted limits within which the country's "guided democracy" runs.

But as economic problems persist and as the king's political position needs firmer support, Morocco appears to be on the threshold of a new political future. On the one hand, the basis of the country's democracy may be widened — by pushing back the limits of popular and parliamentary debate — or the regime may feel pressures to introduce measures of repression to hold the country's swelling and politicised population in check. Clearly, the people of Morocco are committed to their political system — if only because they fear that a military takeover may be worse than the morarch they know.

But unless the king can hold out the possibility that, despite Morocco's economic travails, the road to a more open political system remains open — and last week's election may be a sign that he will do so — the political initiative may be snatched from his hands by those who believe that nothing so becomes an unruly polity than a strict dose of martial discipline.

CSO: 4500/9



## IRAQ

### AHVAZ LIBERATION FRONT LEADERS ASK FOR RECOGNITION

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1448, 3 Aug 84 pp 36-37

[Article by 'Afaf Zayn: "People of Ahvaz Affirm Their Arab Character, Seek Recognition of their Political Independence"]

[Text] What is the Ahvaz region doing to achieve its national demands? This is the region that has undergone broad-scale destruction as a result of the war.

Leaders of the Ahvaz Liberation Front are affirming that the struggle goes on. They say they are waiting for developments in the war so they can decide what step to take, and they fault the Arab countries for ignoring their demands and appeals despite the national, progressive and non-aligned character of their movement.

Ahvaz is an Arabic word; it is the name of a geographical area that consists of fertile plains and lush mountains covering approximately 185 square kilometers. This area is located between the Bakhtiar and the Zagros Mountains in the north and the warm waters of the Arabian Gulf in the south of the Arab homeland. This area is thus a natural unity and an alluvial plain.

Ever since the Elamite State, whose capital was the Arab city of Susa, was founded, Arab tribes that had intermittently migrated from the Arabian Peninsula have inhabited the area of Ahvaz. Before the Iraq-Iran war, the population of that area was about 4 million persons. These people were affiliated with Arab tribes, which included the tribe of Bani Ka'b, Bani Taraf, Bani Lam, al-Aws, al-Khazraj, Rabi'ah and other Arab tribes.

From the standpoint of its geography and its population, Ahvaz has been considered, and it still is, an Arab port that is located on the borders with Persia, whose expansionist aspirations have remained unchanged since the days of Khosrow Anushiravan.

An official statement that was signed by Reza Khan and distributed in Ahvaz by Iranian authorities after the uprising in the city of (al-Mahmarah) on 22 July 1925 may demonstrate the real mentality that the rulers of Iran have been using in dealing with the Arab character of this area. The statement which was written in Farsi and dropped by airplanes stated this: "You are Arabs of Persian origin. Your land, Khuzistan, is part of the Persian Empire. You learned Arabic as a result of your contacts with the Arabs of Iraq." The statement ended by calling

upon the people "to spurn the Arabic language and to go back and use Farsi, the original language of their ancestors."

The personal papers of Reza Khan, the late Shah's father, revealed that one of the man's most salient objectives was retaliation against the Arabs. He wanted to destroy all the components of the notion of Arabism by seizing the largest Arab area that he could seize and obliterating its identity. Reza Khan wanted to strike back at the Arabs because he claimed they had wiped out the Sassanian Empire. The Arab area of Ahvaz thus became the scene of Persia's historical retaliation in 1925. This is the Persia that wages modern wars with advanced military weapons and with the mentality of the Middle Ages.

It is fitting to note in this regard, in all fairness to truth and to history, that the fall of Ahvaz to the Persians was aided and abetted by several other local and outside factors. The internal factor was manifested in the weak physique of the area's inhabitants, and that was due to the poverty, ignorance, disease and lack of political awareness that befell them during the term of (al-Bukasib). The people of Ahvaz did not feel they were responsible [for their lives] because, on the one hand, foreign, British influence prevailed and, on the other hand, because of the injustice that befell them during the term of al-Shaykh Khaz'al, the last Arab prince in the area.

The outside factors that contributed to the fall of Ahvaz were mostly Reza Khan's increased anti-Arab feelings and his hostility to Arab nationalism. He tried to remove every Arab tradition in the province, and he also sought to sever all ties between Ahvaz and the Arab homeland.

British support for Persia's occupation of Ahvaz contributed significantly to the misfortune of Ahvaz Arabs. The British themselves admitted to that. This British support is evident in private documents revealed last year by the British Foreign Office.

Al-Shaykh Khaz'al's uprising against Reza Khan failed to stem the tide of Persian expansionism. On the last night the Arab prince held his ground in the city of (al-Mahmarah), he wrote, "I do not have much confidence in Gen Zahedi's promises and in the guarantees he gave for my safety so that I would not go to al-Basrah. However, I find myself compelled to appoint my son, al-Shaykh 'Abdallah, ruler of the city. I am doing this to comply with Reza Khan's request. I am fighting a war for all Arabs against a Sassanian Persian king who is wearing a western hat."

The papers that al-Shaykh Khaz'al took with him to his exile in Tehran disappeared when he died in 1936, but they reappeared in the collection of the late Shah's chief of protocol, Dawud Amir Qasimi, who resides now in California.

National action in Ahvaz is nothing recent. It began with the Persian occupation and with the forceful movement to impose a Persian character on everything. The foundations for that movement had been laid by Reza Khan and General Zahedi.

The people of Ahvaz have a Bedouin temperament; that is, their Bedouin principles and values would not let them yield to the logic of the occupier. Primitive national movements were formed, and some of the tribes residing in

Ahvaz formed the nucleus of these movements. These movements that came into being spontaneously carried out a number of violent uprisings, one of which was the uprising of al-Shaykh Madkhur. Thus these actions were essential precursors to the formation of the first political party in Ahvaz, the al-Sa'adah Party.

Abu 'Awad, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Ahvaz Liberation Front, considers al-Sa'adah Party "the first political organization in Ahvaz to formulate the various aspects of the Ahvaz question." Abu 'Awad thinks that this party was the organization that inspired subsequent political organizations. Al-Sa'adah Party tried to unite the tribes of Ahvaz that were fighting each other, and it fought to make the Ahvazis' cry for independence heard. Abu 'Awad filed a complaint with the Arab League [to that effect] when it was first founded in the mid forties.

Al-Sa'adah Party also brought up the question of Ahvaz at international forums, like the United Nations and Amnesty International. Broad, popular support for the party helped bring the question of Ahvaz to the attention of Arab and international organizations. Thus, the party got the support of the tribes of the area. Among the principles al-Sa'adah Party is calling for is that of having one Arab nation that would include Ahvaz. Despite coordination between it and Iraq's al-Istiqlal [Independence] Party at the time, al-Sa'adah Party has also been concerned about the independence of its decisions and the neutrality of its operating institutions and its active organizations.

The fact that al-Sa'adah Party proclaimed liberation and sovereignty as its objectives and its most important slogans paved the way for the establishment of the so-called Arabistan Liberation Front in 1958. This is a broad political organization inside and outside Ahvaz that is developing a political program similar to that of al-Sa'adah Party. The front, however, is distinguished by its clear ability to attract the young people of Ahvaz. It is also worth noting that the front established good relations with the most prominent leaders of national thought in the Arab world, particularly 'Abd-al-Nasir. However, the front's activities attracted the attention of Persian occupiers who arrested its three leaders: the late Muhyi-al-Din al-Nasir, 'Isa al-Madkhur and Daharbab Shamil. Besides, the Persian occupiers also arrested a large number of students who are members of students' unions and who had taken part in national action. Thus, national action assumed numerous forms of struggle, including undercover and public actions, depending on available circumstances.

In the period that preceded the fall of the Shah, national action in Ahvaz brought about the formation of other organizations led by the Arab people of Ahvaz. Among these organizations were the People's Movement and the Political Organization; these two organizations carried out concrete national actions in Iran. The national movement in Ahvaz took advantage of the large number of Ahvazis in Iran's oil, ports and railroad sectors, and it was thus able to damage the Iranian economy. Those Arab workers organized strikes to bring activity in these sensitive sectors in Iran to a standstill. Their aim was to show their solidarity with the different ethnic groups who were demanding their rights and suffering from the pressures placed on them by the movement to impart a Persian character to everything. Kurds, Adherbayjanis and Balush were among those ethnic groups. It may be said that political organizations in Ahvaz, along with opposition movements in Iran, played an active role in bringing about the

fall of the Shah. Political organizations in Ahvaz were hoping for another regime to succeed the Shah's anti-Arab, racist regime which was hostile to Arabs and to the idea of Arabism. At first, the national movement in Ahvaz supported the present regime in Iran and gave it its blessings. It was for this reason in particular that an Ahvaz delegation, representing different factions and political organizations, as well as a number of clergymen and tribal chiefs visited the city of Qom to declare their loyalty to Khomeyni and give their blessings to his advent into power in Iran.

Abu 'Awad, permanent secretary of the Ahvaz Liberation Front had this to say to clarify the Ahvazi position in support of the Iranian regime: "From their various locations in Ahvaz our people took part in the process that brought down the Shah's regime because they were hoping for something different. We had led ourselves to believe that a government of clergymen who sought wisdom in the book of God would strive to understand the suffering that the people of Ahvaz felt as a result of oppression and tyranny and the concealment of their Arab identity."

But the good intentions of the people of Ahvaz were countered by actions that ignored their legitimate rights. The fact that the Ahvaz delegation, which represented different sectors of the population, was not allowed to visit Khomeyni constituted a continuation of that policy which holds that Ahvaz is an Arabic-speaking area of Iran. That policy holds that the fact that Arabic is spoken in Ahvaz is a result of the area's proximity to Iraq. What the people of Ahvaz were told then was not different in substance or form from what was conveyed to them by the past statements of Reza Khan in 1925 when [leaflets conveying] these statements were dropped on the Arab territory of (al-Mahmarah). What the people of Ahvaz were told then was also not different from what Khosru (Anu Sharwan) told an Arab delegation that had come to visit him in the Arab city of al-Hirah.

The attitude of the Iranian regime forced the National Movement of Ahvaz to reconsider the action it had taken to disband its armed militias after the fall of the Shah. The National Movement of Ahvaz had taken that action to create an opportunity for a dialogue and a favorable exchange.

After agents of that movement satisfied themselves that they would be facing a difficult period and a more oppressive regime that would ignore their legitimate rights even more than the Shah's regime had, they set out to take broad national action to affirm the Arab character of Ahvaz. They utilized cultural centers and clubs to strengthen Arabic culture, and that action provoked the ire of the Iranian commandos who were headed by Gen Ahmed Madani, commander of Iran's naval forces at the time. These forces set out to strike and wipe out the Ahvaz Youth Movement. This first oppressive operation which was carried out on 29 May 1979 was called Black Wednesday. Hundreds of unarmed young people, women, children and older people lost their lives in that operation. From West Germany where he is now in Exile, Gen Madani admitted that the plan for the Black Wednesday operation did not differ much from the 1925 plan to seize the city of (al-Mahmarah) and chase al-Shaykh Khaz'al, the last Arab prince of Ahvaz, out of the area and send him to exile in Tehran. Both plans sought to use oppression and terror to wipe out the Arab identity of the people of Ahvaz.

The fact that so many innocent lives were lost in the Black Wednesday operation

restored the military organizations of the National Movement of Ahvaz to life. These organizations carried out successful operations against Iranian forces in sensitive locations which included oil installations and other important organizations. The Iranian regime admitted that these operations had been carried out.

This situation created a need to address the ranks of the various factions involved in the conflict. The first national congress was held in 1981 in Ahvaz, which the army of Iraq had entered after the war between Iraq and Iran broke out. The business that was concluded at this national congress led to the creation of one Ahvazi political organization that was called the Arab Front for the Liberation of Ahvaz. This organization won the support of different classes of people in Ahvaz. It won the support of social groups and all independent revolutionary factions in Ahvaz. The front regarded itself the only legitimate representative of the people of Ahvaz who were demanding their independence and the restoration of their Arab identity.

The Arab Front for the Liberation of Ahvaz presents itself as a progressive, Arab, national organization fighting with revolutionary forces and with progressive and national movements in the world.

The secretary general of the Ahvaz Liberation Front had this to say about the internal situation: "Our program may be briefly described as an effort to build an Arab, Ahvazi society by liberating the land and the citizens who will then decide for themselves on a political system that would be consistent with their Arab, national aspirations. We rely on the principle of armed struggle to achieve our national objectives."

The front believes that its establishment under those conditions which the area has experienced was a matter of national and ethnic necessity aimed at furthering ties with Arab countries, with the free peoples of Iran and with other ethnic groups that have been harmed.

The front's aims of achieving a real and just peace and pursuing a friendly course are consistent with the objectives of neighboring and adjacent Arab governments, particularly Iraq. The front is also calling for a prompt and an urgent cease-fire between Iraq and Iran. It wants the dispute settled through dialogue and negotiations, and it wants each one of the two countries not to interfere in the internal affairs of the other. The front refuses to become involved in local and international alliance policies, but it is eager to coordinate activities with Arab governments through Arab League channels. The front considers itself a member of the non-alignment movement.

The front thinks that the Iraq-Iran war is one episode in a broad conspiracy whose aim is to undermine the sovereignty and the unity of the Arab nation. The front believes that Israel is involved in this conspiracy in which local and international powers are cooperating. It believes that Israel is benefiting from the continuing state of chaos and instability in the Arab world.

Mahmud Husayn Bashari, chief and deputy secretary of the Political Office told AL-HAWADITH, "Ever since it was established in 1981, the front has been able to organize the young people of Ahvaz and recruit them to serve their national cause. The Association of the Women of Ahvaz has also been established; it has



become a member of the Association of Arab Women. The front has conducted in Ahvaz and abroad a series of military training exercises for young people because it believes that military operations in Ahvaz are necessary to go along with its actions abroad. Ahvaz fighters have also carried out a number of daring operations, and I confess that the most daring of them was the Iranian Embassy operation in London in April 1980."

The Arab Front for the Liberation of Ahvaz insists upon the independence of its political decisions. It relies on annual membership dues received from citizens as well as aid from some friendly Arab governments.

In an attempt to assess its actions the front stated its belief that it has reached a stage of maturity and awareness in its ideology and in its struggle and that it is thus able to lay down a plan for future action that can deal with possible new factors, particularly since the present conflict has been and is still being fought over the soil of Ahvaz. The villages and cities of Ahvaz have been destroyed, and the people of the region have become homeless in the worst damage that has befallen the province since its occupation by Iran in 1925.

Nothing is left of the cities of al-Khafajiyeh (al-Mahmarah) and Abadan in Ahvaz but ruins. The residents of those cities were forced to leave them, and they were dispersed over a large area of Iran so as to obliterate the last Arab characteristics of the province of Ahvaz with regard to its population as well as its language and its history.

Nevertheless, we did file on various occasions numerous complaints with the Arab League to explain the implications of our cause. But we received no response or answer that would be proportionate to our determination to be affiliated with the Arabs and to adhere to our loyalty to this affiliation.

Mahmud Husayn Bashari referred to the aid and support that some Arab governments, chiefly Iraq, are offering the front. This support was offered after the independence of the front's political decisions came under considerable pressure from other Arab regimes that wanted to tame it and enlist its services to serve their own interests.

"The war between Iraq and Iran has placed the Arab Front for the Liberation of Ahvaz on alert; it has made the front vigilant and cautious. Because Ahvaz is on the first line of confrontation in the Arab-Persian conflict, the front is intent on devising a plan for future action so that its decisions would not be strictly immediate reactions to the positions of parties on the scene of conflict. If the state of no war and no peace between Iraq and Iran continues, we will continue implementing our political program even as we escalate our military operations inside Iran and abroad. If, however, this war escalates significantly, the front will find itself fighting with Iraq and intensifying its strikes deep inside Iran."

Regarding possibilities for a peace that would be prescribed by a military defeat, the representative of the front said, "Any peace conference that Iran would go to and that would ignore what the front has been calling for--and the front is the only legitimate representative of the people of Ahvaz--will not be a lasting peace. The present regime in Iran, or any other regime that will be

imposed by developments in domestic conditions in Iran, should not be reassured by such a peace. The territory, the people and the cause of Ahvaz have paid dearly in this war."

The Ahvaz Liberation Front has good relations with the opposition in Iran, and it agrees with it on numerous points. Nevertheless, ever since the National Council for the Iranian Resistance was formed under the leadership of (Mas'ud Rajavi), neither the council's nor its president's statements have referred to the question of Ahvaz. These statements did not go beyond talking about the problem of the many ethnic groups in Iran that are calling for autonomy. (Mas'ud Rajavi) told AL-HAWADITH on more than one occasion that giving these ethnic groups their autonomy would spare Iran in the future civil wars with the Kurds, the Balush and the Adherbayjanis. However, he did fail to mention the Ahvaz cause, and it is this failure that is raising a thousand questions. Will the Iranian opposition follow in the footsteps of its ancestors and consider Ahvaz Persian territory where Arabic is spoken? Will history repeat itself?

In this regard the secretary general of the Ahvaz Liberation Front said, "Iran will know no peace and no stability unless it recognizes the rights of the people of Ahvaz. The people of Ahvaz have a right to determine their own destiny. Therefore, this is what we are saying to the factions of the Iranian opposition, to Arab governments and to international organizations concerned with the question of peace, 'There will be no peace in Iran or in the region unless our rights are respected just as the rights of other ethnic groups in Iran are respected.'"

The secretary general of the front had this to say about the peace plan that was drawn up to end the war between Iraq and Iran and that was signed by (Mas'ud Rajavi), chairman of the National Resistance Council, on behalf of Iran and by Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz on behalf of Iraq, "This plan made no reference whatsoever to the rightful question of the people of Ahvaz. We find this to be a flaw in the plan."

AL-HAWADITH asked Iraq's minister of foreign affairs about this point in particular. The minister said, "To achieve a just and rightful peace for both Iran and Iraq and to bring an end to the conflict through the use of dialogue and negotiations, Iraq is setting no prior conditions that have to do with internal conditions in Iran. Respecting the sovereignty of both countries is an essential priority for the future of our relations. Ahvaz is an area that constitutionally belongs to Iran, and Iraq is dealing with the question of Ahvaz from two perspectives:

"1. Non-intervention in Iran's internal affairs.

"2. Letting the people of Ahvaz themselves make that political decision freely and letting them choose those means that are suitable for them to achieve their legitimate goals."

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CSO: 4404/630

INOC HEAD DISCUSSES FIRM'S ACHIEVEMENTS

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 72, 25 Aug 84 pp 64-65

[Interview with Mr 'Isam 'Abd-al-Rahim al-Jalabi: "Head of the Iraqi National Oil Company Tells AL-TADAMUN, 'In 7 Years We Accomplished What Foreign Companies Accomplished in 45; We are Striving To Become Self-Sufficient Regarding Tankers and Support Establishments' "]

[Text] The matter of the need to have a national organization for oil that would manage all parts of the oil industry has been the subject of inquiry in Iraq ever since Law Number 80 for 1961 was issued. On the strength of this law the Iraqi government regained almost all the land that had been granted to foreign companies in accordance with the traditional formula of concessions. There are confirmed and unutilized oil reserves in the land that Iraq regained; the land also contains unconfirmed oil reserves as well as possible reserves. Most of the land was not included in the surveying and exploration operations that were carried out by foreign firms over more than three decades and a half. During this time these foreign companies pursued policies that wasted the oil resources of the people of Iraq.

Iraq went through a complex period during the lean years of 1961-1968. During those years successive governments pursued policies that wasted the country's requirements for national sovereignty. These governments jeopardized the country's vital interests, its established rights and its national wealth and resources. They gave foreign companies more opportunities to work around Law No 80, and they also abolished any possible role that a national oil company could play in the future. This oil company, which was founded in 1964, was disabled and paralyzed at birth. It was beset with burdensome political restrictions, and it was founded in an atmosphere that was charged with conspiracy and evasion.

Faced with that the July 1968 Revolution inherited a burdensome legacy that had to be confronted by adopting a national oil policy whose course was decisive and radical and whose parameters were overlapping and complementary. The leadership role of the Iraqi National Oil Company [INOC] emerged; this is the company that was given the exclusive right to exploit all the country's lands including the land that was regained in accordance with Law Number 80. That law prohibited INOC from forming partnerships with foreign companies or granting them concessions. Several measures were also taken to give the company the capability to achieve its missions and its objectives, providing it with the necessary staff, with competent professionals and with advanced technical devices and equipment.



The law authorized the company to make agreements with a number of advanced countries to obtain the modern technology it needs.

In 1969 the company began implementing the first stage of operations to utilize the field north of al-Ramilah. This stage was fully completed, and it was inaugurated in April 1972. It is to produce and export 5 million tons of crude oil a year. Less than 2 months later the decree nationalizing the operations of the Iraqi Oil Company, Ltd. was issued. The Iraqi National Oil Company assumed the responsibility of managing and operating the nationalized oil fields, installations and facilities. Its achievements came one after the other, and its functions grew until the company became one of the largest national oil companies in the area. It is now managing all parts of the oil extraction industry as well as all auxiliary industries, including the extraction of crude oil in Iraq. AL-TADAMUN interviewed Mr 'Isam 'Abd-al-Rahim al-Jalabi, deputy minister of oil for extraction affairs and president of the Iraqi National Oil Company. We interviewed him so he would shed light on the company's role and its functions and accomplishments.

#### The Onset of Changes

Mr al-Jalabi said that the changes in the Iraqi National Oil Company that followed the July 1968 Revolution began a few months after the outbreak of the Revolution. Calm and deliberate steps were taken to bring about this change. The INOC was developed and subsidized, and scientific plans were drawn up for it. The aim of these plans was to utilize oil resources by means of a truly effective national agency. This agency would not be a paper agency like that which existed between 1964 and 1968. Surveying and exploration operations were undertaken in many of the areas that were seized from foreign companies in accordance with Law No 80 for 1961. A decision was made rather hurriedly to begin direct national investments in the field north of al-Ramilah. The necessary contracts for drilling wells, furnishing materials and equipment, carrying out engineering operations and setting up the necessary equipment were signed. Efforts were concentrated to complete these activities in record time.

All these activities were in fact implemented in only 3 years, and the first stage of the North al-Ramilah Field Development Project was inaugurated on 7 April 1972. At the same time operations were going on at a fast pace to implement the second and then the third stage of the project to utilize and develop this as well as other fields.

Several measures were taken to ensure the success of all stages of the direct investment effort. A number of tankers was purchased to ensure that the oil that was being produced in the country was marketed. Foreign companies used to set up barriers and restrictions to the marketing of Iraqi oil that was produced by Iraqi nationals. And so it was that subsequent developments turned our company into one of the largest national agencies.

#### The Language of Figures

[Question] One of the first practical functions that the Iraqi National Oil Company had to face was that of carrying out exploration and drilling operations competently. What has been scored in that regard?

[Answer] The Iraqi National Oil Company faced up to the tasks of exploration

and drilling in a manner that affirmed the competence of Iraqi cadres and technical personnel. The company's performance in this regard affirmed the superiority of national agencies over foreign companies who were motivated by the interests of the countries they represented and not by the interests of those countries where they had their operations. In this regard [the following] may be placed on the record:

The companies that were nationalized over a period of 15 years, from 1946 until their exploratory operations were suspended when Law No 80 for 1961 was issued, had conducted seismic surveys over a total of 25,140 longitudinal kilometers. The National Oil Company conducted seismic surveys over an area of a similar size in the sixth year after it began its exploratory operations in 1970. The total area of land that this company surveyed seismically from 1970 to 1976 was about 37,679 longitudinal kilometers.

The highest average of seismic surveying scored by the nationalized foreign companies amounted to 4,813 longitudinal kilometers a year, compared with the highest average achieved by the National Oil Company, which is 26,904 longitudinal kilometers a year. This is 5.6 times the figure for the nationalized foreign companies.

Also the general production average per team in the nationalized companies amounted to 499.5 kilometers a year during the forementioned period. But the production average per team for the Iraqi National Oil Company in seismic surveying amounted to 963 kilometers a year--about twice as much.

Regarding drilling operations, the following comparative figures may be established:

First, from 1927 to 1975 (45 years) the nationalized foreign companies drilled a total of 829,580 meters. These low annual averages began to rise in 1948, reaching their maximum of about 75,750 meters a year in 1960.

Second, the Iraqi National Oil Company began drilling operations in 1970, and by 1977 had completed drilling 1 million meters. In other words, in only 7 years it had completed more drilling operations than the foreign companies had over a period of 45 years.

The average annual drilling figure for the Iraqi company exceeded the maximum figure for the nationalized foreign companies significantly. In 1974 alone the total number of meters drilled was about 136,550 meters.

Third, the highest drilling average for the National Oil Company amounted to about 350,000 meters a year. That is 4.6 times the average scored by the nationalized foreign companies. It is known that the total meters drilled by the National Oil Company between 1970 and 1982 amounted to almost 2.4 million meters. This is three times what the nationalized foreign companies did over a period of four and a half decades.

#### Other Undertakings

[Question] The nationalized foreign companies relied on their firms outside Iraq or on other specialized companies abroad for carrying out marketing and

transportation operations. However, national firms undertook these operations after the direct national investment policy was put into operation. How would you define briefly the requirements that have been made available to complete the task of transporting crude oil?

[Answer] Ever since preparations were made for direct oil investment operations, plans were made to provide a number of tankers. The National Oil Company purchased 7 tankers; each had a capacity of 35,000 tons. In 1972 the company took delivery of three of these tankers, and they have been used to export the oil that is being put to profitable use by nationals. The company took delivery of the rest in 1973. Then 8 tankers were purchased; each had a capacity of 150,000 tons. Thus the total capacity for Iraq's fleet of tankers is about 1.4 million tons dead weight. A number of vessels for carrying oil products has also been provided.

[Question] All oil sources affirm that Iraqi national cadres and personnel were the principal factor behind the achievements that were made in developing the integrated oil industry in Iraq. What about the steps that are being taken to train native cadres and technical personnel who are competent and capable of operating and managing all aspects of oil operations?

[Answer] To keep up with the rapid development in the company's different activities, comparable growth had to take place in the labor force so that mid-level cadres and workers for the oil sector in particular and for the industrial sector in general could be trained. The National Oil Company established an oil training center that trained 194 persons from 1970 to 1974. These were special courses for rapid training. The main training courses, however, produced 286 graduates in 1973. That number grew one year after the other until it became 874 in 1979 when the institute severed its ties with the National Oil Company and became affiliated with the Ministry of Oil. This center is still playing a growing role serving the oil sector.

The National Oil Company has also undertaken the task of training technical cadres and professionals by providing on-site training in the field inside the country. This training is provided either at the company's own facilities and establishments or at courses that are set up by other institutions and organizations. Training is also provided abroad. In addition, large numbers of the company's employees and workers receive training in drilling and production operations inside the country and abroad. Special courses are also arranged, and numerous professional symposiums and scientific conferences covering the company's various activities are held.

[Question] What is the scope and the nature of the directions that are being pursued to strengthen cooperation with Arab countries?

[Answer] Despite rapid and major expansions in the activities of the National Oil Company and the need to provide, train and develop the required cadres, the company has fulfilled its national obligations through different channels. It has provided training for Arab cadres in operations it is carrying out to produce crude oil, such as drilling, exploration and other operations. It has also expressed its willingness to help fraternal Arab countries by providing them with Iraqi expertise.

Thus, a seismic team was dispatched to Jordan in 1983 to help Jordan look for oil. This team conducted seismic surveys there, and the National Oil Company interpreted the surveys and provided professional advice, assistance and supervision for exploratory oil drilling operations. These efforts were in fact fruitful, since oil was recently discovered and an announcement to that effect was made recently by Jordan.

The efforts of the National Oil Company also included offering technical assistance to a number of Arab and friendly countries by sending them experts, evaluating studies or participating in the preparation of those studies.

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SEVEN-MEMBER COMMITTEE MEETS IN BAGHDAD

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 73, 1 Sep 84 p 17

[Article by Diyab Nabahan: "Efforts To Stop the War Go in Four New Directions on the Eve of Seven-Member Committee Meeting in Baghdad; Committee Abandons Diplomatic Efforts for an Actual Plan of Action To Achieve a Peaceful Settlement"]

[Text] The Arab Follow-Up Committee that was charged with the task of investigating developments in the Iraq-Iran war adjourned its third meeting in Baghdad last Sunday. An agreement was reached on a general plan for the committee's activities and diplomatic actions in the next stage. The purpose of these activities is to apply more pressure on Iran to make it respond to recent diplomatic efforts to end the destructive war that has started its fifth year with no realistic indications that Iran is making any concrete changes in its position of refusing to end the war.

The seven-member Arab committee is the product of the emergency meeting of the Arab League that was convened last March 14 in Baghdad for ministers of foreign affairs. The ministers of foreign affairs of Jordan, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Tunisia, the Arab Republic of Yemen, Morocco and Iraq are members of that committee. The secretary general of the Arab League also serves on that committee.

After the first meeting it held in Tunisia late last March the committee proceeded to carry out its first action after approving a formula for its work and international actions. The committee also conducted a comprehensive evaluation of actions undertaken by a number of its members during visits they made to a number of European and Asian countries to explain the dangers that could result from the continuation of the war. Committee members also explained during those visits how those countries can help by applying pressure on Iran to make it respond to international and regional efforts that are being made to put an end to the war. This was done at the committee's second meeting, which was held in Tunisia last May 25. At that time the committee was divided into three delegations. One delegation was headed by Tahir al-Misri, Jordan's minister of foreign affairs, and that delegation visited Belgium, Switzerland, Britain, West Germany and the Netherlands. The second delegation was headed by 'Abd-al-Wahid Balqaziz, Morocco's minister of foreign affairs, and that delegation visited Greece and Portugal. The third delegation, which was headed by Sabah Ahmad al-Sabah, Kuwait's minister of foreign affairs, included Tariq 'Aziz, Iraq's deputy

prime minister and minister of foreign affairs and Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, Saudi Arabia's minister of foreign affairs. That delegation visited Japan.

Observers here concur that the results of the delegation's communications with the government of Japan were satisfactory. There is a feeling of optimism that Japan may have a chance to play a role that could help stop the war. Early last July another delegation headed by Hamid 'Ulwan, Iraq's minister of state for foreign affairs, had visited a number of socialist countries: Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands and Czechoslovakia.

To that end AL-TADAMUN has learned that the future plan of action for the Arab Follow-Up Committee will proceed along the following directions:

1. Communications will be conducted with the United States and the Soviet Union to formulate a more serious posture to achieve peace and to support Iraq's position which has been responsive to peace initiatives.
2. Communications will be conducted in connection with the meetings of the UN General Assembly, which will begin its ordinary session in the middle of this month, for the purpose of formulating a UN resolution sponsored by the United Nations regarding bringing the Iraq-Iran conflict to an end and containing the dangers of internationalizing this conflict which has recently spread beyond the geographical location where it had broken out.
3. Communications with Syria and Libya are to be continued since their support for Iran in its dispute with Iraq contradicts the present position of the Arab community toward the war. Syria's and Libya's positions also contradict Article Six of the charter of the Arab League as well as Article Two of the Mutual Defense and Economic Cooperation Treaty between the countries of the Arab League. Syria's and Libya's continued support for Iran is considered a violation of a resolution made by the 12th Arab Summit which was convened in Fes in Morocco. That resolution had sided with Iraq.
4. Efforts are to be made to spur the non-alignment movement in its efforts to mediate in the war and to formulate a practical and appropriate formula to end the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran so as to ensure the rights of both parties.

Arab political sources in Baghdad have commented to AL-TADAMUN on the activities of the third meeting of the Arab Follow-Up Committee. They said that these activities supported the Arab position that sides with Iraq. This position calls for an end to the war and the use of peaceful means to achieve a just peace between Iraq and Iran. The sources explained that the committee can do much in this regard, particularly since Iran still insists on its position of refusing to end the war. Iran is holding on to its conditions which constitute an obstacle to any attempt that might be made in this regard. These sources were referring to a statement made recently by Husayn Shaykh al-Islam, Iran's deputy minister of foreign affairs. That official stated that Iran had rejected all diplomatic initiatives to stop the war. He also said, "Iran wants anyone who wants the war stopped to come to Tehran and accept its conditions." A statement was also made by Hashemi Rafsanjani, speaker of Iran's parliament, in last Friday's sermon. Mr Rafsanjani said the war will stop "when the Iraqi regime ceases to exist."

To that end observers concur that a united Arab position with Iraq would expedite an end to the war. They affirm that unless effective measures against the countries that deal with Iran and insist on buying oil from it are taken, the Arab Follow-Up Committee will find it difficult to formulate an international position or provide opportunities to apply the appropriate pressure on it. The Arab committee will find it difficult to apply pressure on Iran unless other Arab countries refrain from selling to Iran the equipment and the weapons that will help it continue the war and maintain its hardline position. This is particularly true since Iran has recently received devices, equipment and military supplies from the United States and a large number of Swiss airplanes and two supply ships from Britain that can be used for military purposes. This indicates that the efforts that were made by the committee in Britain and in Switzerland failed.

An Arab political source in Baghdad affirms that changing the committee's method of operations is essential. He affirms that it is necessary to organize an economic pressure campaign that would apply pressure on Iran and on the countries that do business with it to make them stop any activity that could escalate or broaden the war, jeopardizing safety and peace in the area.

Although the committee has so far failed to reach agreement on proposed methods of applying pressure on Iran, the fact that it has ruled out diplomatic activities and, according to the same source, undertaken effective measures was inevitable. Countries can thus be urged to make efforts to end the war and to refrain from undertaking any measure that would directly or indirectly prolong the war between the two countries.

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MILITARY AID TO LIBERIA

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 7 Jun 84 p 2

[Article by Yosi Melman, DAVAR Correspondent: "Agreements For Supplying Equipment to the Army and Implementation of a Construction Project Were Signed With Liberia"]

[Text] The State of Israel and Liberia signed new agreements for agricultural aid and a large construction project. This DAVAR correspondent learned that the value of the deals comes to about \$40 million. The agreements were signed at the beginning of the week by a Liberian delegation that included Minister of Defense Gray Allison, the Chief of Staff of Liberia's army, General Duvar, Minister of Internal Security Minikon, and a senior official from the Ministry of Defense, Masakvi. Banks in the United States will provide credit lines to finance the deal.

According to the agreements Israel will supply the Liberian army with vehicles, uniforms and war materiel. In addition Liberia will soon receive three "Arava" planes which are intended for its internal aviation company. This attractive deal was agreed upon as early as last October during the course of the visit of the President of Liberia, Samuel Doe, to Israel.

The construction firm "Yona International," which belongs to the vice president of the contractors' center, Yona Mordekhai, of Jerusalem, signed a memorandum of understanding to build a seven-story building for the Ministry of Defense in Monrovia, the capitol of Liberia, and also to set up a farm for raising fowl and rice for the Liberian defense forces, in cooperation with the government firm of "Agridav."

Yona Mordekhai told DAVAR that he had already visited Liberia twice and that he would leave soon for another visit in order to finalize the last details of the deal.

Government sources reported to DAVAR that in the course of the visit information will be exchanged on attempts by Libya and its agents to sabotage the Liberian regime. It was reported that the Liberians are worried about the activity of the Libyans in the neighboring countries of Benin (Dahomey), Upper Volta and Ghana, and are afraid that that activity will reach their country.

9794

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LEBANON

SPOKESMAN FOR UNEMPLOYED URGES ACTION

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 72, 25 Aug 84 p 61

[Interview with Dr 'Abbas Qaduh by Ibrahim 'Awadah: "War Produces a Coalition of the Unemployed; 300,000 Unemployed Persons Hold Meeting Chaired by Returning Immigrant; Man Leading Army of Unemployed Says He Fears 'an Imminent Social War'"]

[Text] Scores of militias and armed organizations were formed in Lebanon during the 10 years of war in that country. These militias and armed organizations fought for political, ideological and even religious principles that they thought were just. To them these principles represented a cause and the homeland.

In the midst of this swelling tide of armed militias in Lebanon, an announcement was made early in 1984 about the birth of a new kind of coalition or organization. With its 300,000 members it is numerically the largest organization in Lebanon. However, it is not armed, and it was not founded to fight for an ideology or because its premises were based on religious fanaticism. This organization was founded to fight poverty, homelessness and unemployment. Its weapons in this fight are words, logic and reason. This organization is the Coalition of the Unemployed which is headed today by a Lebanese economist who recently returned to Lebanon after a lengthy absence in a foreign country. This man returned to Lebanon to declare war on unemployment and to defend permanent employment. His slogan in this effort is, "Without a working society there can be no homeland."

AL-TADAMUN interviewed Dr 'Abbas Qaduh, leader of this army of unemployed--300,000 persons--who are victims of the tragedy of the war in Lebanon.

[Question] How did the idea of establishing a coalition for the unemployed come into being, and what are its objectives?

[Answer] We got the idea early this year when I returned to Lebanon after a lengthy absence of 15 years in a foreign country. The news we were getting abroad about the consequences of the tragic war in Lebanon on various areas, particularly on the country's course and economy, impelled me, as it impelled other young intellectuals who believe in our country, Lebanon, to return quickly and to take part in a workshop that would rebuild this country in accordance with those resources and means that are available. Our thoughts were focused on

the social situation in particular because it was the most difficult one after the war which had hurt the institutions of production and of the economy and had created a large army of unemployed people. This war created a "society of the unemployed." A number of physicians, attorneys, engineers and I agreed to form this coalition to correct the consequences of the social war in the area of employment. We also wanted to become advocates for the unemployed to secure employment for them again. We would thus be contributing to a solution to the greatest problem of the Lebanese war, which is the question of unemployment.

[Question] How many unemployed persons are in Lebanon today? What is the coalition's plan of action to confront the crisis of unemployment?

[Answer] The approximate statistics that the coalition has been able to get after conducting a comprehensive survey of different work sites indicate that the number of unemployed persons may be as high as 300,000 workers and employees. This figure, which is alarming relative to the population of Lebanon, is a serious matter that rarely occurs in any country. It is a real social tragedy. It is also a clear indication of the horrible consequences of the Lebanese war which left its negative marks on every home, on every street and on every region. This war overlooked political ideologies and religious beliefs as well as interests to become the tragedy of all Lebanon and of all the Lebanese people without exception. The plans of action that are being adopted by the Coalition of the Unemployed are numerous and varied, but the most notable of them are [the following]:

1. Establishing special committees that will contact organizations and companies in various sectors to ensure that they have the Lebanese workers they need.
2. Contacting embassies as well as Arab and foreign delegations to ensure employment for Lebanese citizens in the countries of these delegations, particularly in the countries of the Arabian Gulf.
3. Holding debates; contacting the media and people's coalitions; communicating with officials and political activists to explain to them the dangers of unemployment; and creating among the public an opinion that understands the implications of this problem and can lead to doing something about it.
4. Applying pressure on the state to induce it to issue new labor laws that would require national as well as foreign companies and organizations operating in Lebanon to give preference to Lebanese workers when hiring employees. Not less than 85 percent of a company's work force are to be Lebanese.

In addition, the coalition is taking many other steps to achieve its objectives. For example, it is dealing with labor problems at work sites, and it is communicating with labor associations and unions and coordinating efforts with them, etc.

[Question] What in your opinion are the disadvantages of the unemployment crisis? What is the role of the state in treating this problem?

[Answer] The problem of unemployment that Lebanon is suffering from today has very negative effects and consequences on the economic and social levels. One of

the consequences of this problem on the economy is the decline in the level of general production. Also national revenues decline, and the economic cycle comes to a standstill. There are other serious consequences as well that would profoundly hurt any economy in the world. But the social consequences of this crisis are numerous. The most prominent of these are the impoverishment of a large class of Lebanon's citizens, a decline in the general standard of living in the country, social chaos and the interruption of production. Finally, but not lastly, this problem may harbor the seeds of a social revolution that may take the form of a class war.

Possible action by the state to contain this crisis and do something about it is manifested in the following:

--The state is to stop importing foreign workers, or it is at least to limit the sectors of employment for foreign workers so that they would not pose as competition to Lebanese workers. This measure can be taken by the Ministry of Labor which can issue specific legislation in that regard. We are quite confident that the Ministry of Labor will play the required role to protect Lebanese workers and Lebanese society, particularly since this ministry is headed by [former] prime minister Dr Salim al-Huss who is quite familiar with the pain of unemployment and its dangers.

--The state is to rebuild the economic institutions that were destroyed during the war, particularly industrial institutions that can employ thousands of the unemployed. Setting up a reconstruction workshop is to get the economic cycle moving and create new opportunities for employment.

--The state is to build economic institutions and institutions of production on land it owns. It is to supervise operations at these institutions directly to ensure new employment opportunities for the unemployed and to accommodate the large number of qualified Lebanese citizens who had immigrated and who are expected to return soon. It is known that what is being required of the state cannot affect the free economy that is adopted by Lebanon's politics. Many of the countries that have ancient traditions of economic freedom have set a precedent for Lebanon in this regard.

--The state is to increase social services to workers--medical care, hospitalization, unemployment compensation, etc.--so that workers can raise their standards of living and confront all possible setbacks they may have to face, such as dismissal from work.

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## LEBANON

### BRIEFS

BEIRUT PORT ACTIVITY LOW--The first week of the restoration of operations at the port of Beirut after a suspension that had lasted for 5 months was not encouraging. It was unlike previous first weeks of operations following the reopening of the port for business, ever since the onset of events in Lebanon. Indications for the first week of operations at the port do not reflect a serious interest in restoring operations at that facility and returning it to its former condition. This lack of interest was evident in the Port Authority, in the shipping agencies and among top port officials. Some people attributed this phenomenon to the fact that confidence in reopening the port cannot be gained quickly and that time is required so that foreigners could be assured that the port had actually opened. Time is required so that foreigners can assess their plans on that basis. Others, however, attributed the matter to the fact that operations in the other ports were continuing and that merchants were using these ports because fees there were lower. Besides, merchants expect these ports to be closed soon. Therefore, they are taking advantage of this opportunity to make large profits. [Text] [London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1448, 3 Aug 84 p 50] 8592

BANK LOAN CEILING RAISED--The Council of Ministers has approved raising the ceiling on loans from the Bank of Lebanon from 5 to 8 billion Lebanese pounds so that public spending requirements can be met. This increase is restricted to ordinary expenditures. It is known that there is another account for reconstruction spending whose ceiling is 4 billion pounds. This means that the state can now borrow 12 billion pounds from the bank of Lebanon. So far 7.5 billion pounds have already been utilized. This increase that was approved recently indicates a possible increase in the treasury's deficit, particularly since the state is apprehensive about banks not purchasing treasury bonds either because they do not want to purchase them or because they can't. It is known that borrowing from the Bank of Lebanon will have a greater effect on inflation than borrowing from other banks would. [Text] [London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1448, 3 Aug 84 p 51] 8592

CSO: 4404/630

JAPANESE INTERESTED IN QATARI GAS

Beirut AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 22, 3 Sep 84 p 5

[Text]

Three Japanese companies are interested in participating in development of Qatar's huge North Gas field, according to the Qatar General Petroleum Corporation (QGPC). Sheikh Rashid Oweida Al Thani, deputy-manager of the QGPC, told the *Gulf Times* that a high-level delegation from Mitsui, Mitsubishi and C. Itoh and Company had expressed interest in taking the remaining 15 per cent holding in the development company.

The decision, whether or not to buy into the development, will be made when the companies have examined up-to-date forecasts of gas demand in Japan. Until now, observers have played down possible Japanese participation because of expected low world gas prices and ready availability of gas from Asian sources. The Japanese market had long been a target for the QGPC.

In June, Qatar signed an agreement with British Petroleum and France's Compagnie Française de Pétroles, under which each would take a 7.5 per cent share of the six-billion-dollar scheme. Qatar was originally expected to take 70 per cent, but had to accept the higher (85 per cent) participation because there were no other takers.

CSO: 4400/4

DOWNTURN IN ECONOMY NOTED

Beirut AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 22, 3 Sep 84 p 11

[Text]

The Qatari economy showed a further downturn in 1983, the second year running, according to official figures released last month. The country's gross domestic product declined by 15.5 per cent, to an estimated 23.37bn Qatari riyals (\$6.42bn), following a 12.3 per cent fall in 1982, the Qatari Monetary Agency (QMA) said in its annual report. The Agency blamed the continuing decline in oil revenues.

High oil revenues in the previous three years gave Qatar an average 28 per cent per annum growth. The oil sector contributed 45.9 per cent to the economy in 1983; down from 54.3 per cent in 1982 and a peak of 67.2 per cent in 1980, the report said.

Government revenues also fell in the fiscal year to March 1984, although less than had been forecast at the beginning of the year. Revenues amounted to QR11.52bn (\$3.16bn) in 1983, compared with a forecast of QR8.91bn (\$2.45bn), from QR14.96bn (\$4.11bn) in the previous year.

With government spending falling marginally, the budget deficit was QR505mn (\$139mn), compared with a forecast deficit of QR6.44bn (\$1.77bn) and a 1982 surplus of QR1.18bn (\$324mn). The QMA estimates a budget deficit of QR3.68bn (\$1.01bn) for the current year.

CSO: 4400/4

## QATAR

### BRIEFS

OPEC OIL QUOTA EXCEEDED--Qatar is continuing to produce at some 430,000 b/d, more than 40 percent above its Opec quota of 300,000 b/d, the Financial Times reported last week. The apparent breach of the Opec production agreement (most recently reconfirmed at the July ministerial meeting) is in contrast to most of the other members of the organisation who are reported to have reined in their output levels. Oil traders said Qatar was offering discounts of up to two dollars a barrel on its Dukhan crude (officially priced at \$29.49) and the offshore Murban blend \$29.30 officially). Qatar's proven oil reserves should last for 40 years at current consumption levels, the Qatar News Agency reported. [Text] [Beirut AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 23; 17 Sep 84 p 7]

CSO: 4400/4

DOMESTIC, FOREIGN CHALLENGES TO REGIME ANALYZED

Paris LE MONDE in French 18 Aug 84 pp 1, 4

[Article by Jean Gueyras: "Saudi Arabia and the War in the Gulf: Balancing on the Edge of the Precipice"]

[Text] Since the advent of the Islamic Republic in Tehran, the season of the pilgrimages to Mecca has become a source of constant worry and a real headache for the Saudi authorities. Saudi Arabia, the guardian of the holy places of Islam, cannot in fact oppose the coming of the Iranian pilgrims, who have never concealed their intention of making the pilgrimage (hadj) to Mecca an opportunity to demonstrate the superiority of the Shiite branch of Islam over the faith professed by the Sunnite monarchy of the Wahabites. Adopting the principle that Islam "does not separate religion and politics," the Iranian pilgrims have not always taken the Saudi law, which "prohibits any political activity during the hadj," into account, instead jumbling together denunciations of the "crimes of Israel and the United States" and "Riyadh's dependence on Washington" and the "presence of the AWACS in Saudi Arabia" in the course of their pro-Khomeyni marches.

Will the clashes between Iranian pilgrims and the Saudi forces of law and order which have characterized the last four pilgrimage seasons be repeated in September? In principle, there seems to be nothing to belie such a possibility. In the view of Tehran, "taking up political problems in the course of the pilgrimage is an undeniable divine right," which various officials in Tehran have reiterated in the course of recent months. However, nothing is certain, and various conciliatory statements made by highly placed Iranian spokesmen in Riyadh, who have thanked the Saudi authorities for the facilities granted in connection with the pilgrimage, have been noted with interest.

In the final analysis, everything will depend on the unofficial dialogue which began between Tehran and Riyadh following the new military escalation in the Gulf, which was launched last April by President Saddam Husayn, who ordered Iraqi planes to attack the supertankers taking on loads on Kharg Island, for the purpose of internationalizing an unending war. It is now certain that this decision was made without the knowledge of Saudi Arabia, which while financing the Iraqi war effort, had taken care since the beginning of the hostilities between Baghdad and Tehran to stand apart from the military operations.



The aerial duel last 7 June in which Saudi planes pursued two Iranian aircraft, one of which was shot down, was more of a "regrettable accident" than a turning point in the war in the Gulf. For the Saudis, it was above all a demonstration that they had been dragged into a war which, for various reasons, they wanted to avoid. Therefore they have since multiplied the contacts with Tehran, both direct and indirect, in an effort to defuse the crisis. There has even been talk of a possible visit to Saudi Arabia by the Hojjat ol-Eslam Rafsanjani, president of the Iranian Parliament, in connection with the pilgrimage to Mecca, and of a de facto truce in the war against the supertankers concluded at the beginning of July.

In fact, the unofficial talks between Saudi Arabia and Iran have not yet been concluded. The precarious and quite relative calm prevailing in the waters of the Gulf is due more to technical constraints limiting the activity of the Iraqi planes, which seem incapable of interrupting navigation to Kharg Island, than to a tacit cease-fire agreement achieved through the efforts of Riyadh. The Iranians have no illusions about the capacity of Saudi Arabia to force Iraq to abandon its campaign against Kharg Island. All they ask--the Hojjat ol-Eslam Rafsanjani, has reiterated this clearly several times--is assurance of the disengagement of Riyadh and its allies in the Gulf from the Iranian-Iraqi conflict, and an end to the aid in many forms which the Gulf Cooperation Council (CGC) countries are giving Baghdad.

This would mean in fact the abandonment of Iraq, which the Saudis could not agree to for local as well as regional and international reasons.

The Saudis are equally fearful of a victory by Tehran, which would leave them isolated in the face of the threat of Shiite fundamentalism, and a triumph by Baghdad, which could give the signal for a renewal of Baath radicalism in Iraq, and the return of a period in which the Iraqi leaders swaggered about as "Gulf potentates getting rich at the expense of their peoples."

Thus it appears that Saudi Arabia will be forced to pursue the policy of "balancing on the edge of the precipice," with a greater or lesser degree of pleasure, which it has pursued since the beginning of the hostilities between Iran and Iraq. The deeper reasons for this paralysis must be sought in the domestic situation in the Wahabite kingdom, which is stamped with the seal of conservatism. Aware of its extreme weakness, Saudi Arabia wants to avoid any foreign venture likely to undermine the foundations of a monarchy which has not developed much since the beginning of the century.

The leading structures in a modern state regime were not set up in Saudi Arabia until the time of the reign of King Abdelaziz Ibn Sa'ud (1902-1953), with the creation of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1930. Other ministries were subsequently set up, but the state remained embryonic for a long time, since King Abdelaziz preferred to govern with the aid of a few foreign counselors, using the traditional majlis system whereby his subjects could voice their complaints to him. It was not until November 1953, a month before his death, that the Wahabite sovereign promulgated a decree establishing a council of ministers. This decision remained a dead letter, however, and the son of Abdelaziz, King Sa'ud, continued to govern as his father had until 1958, when a statute defining the functions of the Council of Ministers was promulgated.

However this body remained purely advisory, and it was not until the reign of King Faysal (1964-1975) and that of King Khaled (1975-1982) that the Council of Ministers gradually took on a structured modern form, with a contribution from technocrats familiar with Western culture and education and unrelated to the royal family. The authority of the governments in office, finally entitled to draft state policy and to see to its implementation, was thus strengthened. But the king, who heads the Council of Ministers and must necessarily approve its proposals and sign all decrees, still remains all-powerful and sovereign.

All the efforts to limit the royal power in one way or another have failed. In 1960, a draft constitution calling for the creation of an appointed national assembly was indeed proposed, at the urging of the "free princes" who were challenging the absolutism of the monarchy in that era, but the constitution was never promulgated and the draft was consigned to oblivion. King Faysal, who succeeded his brother Sa'ud in 1964, definitively abandoned the idea of a constitution, asserting repeatedly that the Koran was "the most ancient and efficient of all the constitutions in the world," and that Islam was "a sufficiently flexible and foresighted religion to guarantee the happiness of our people."

After the assassination of King Faysal in March of 1975, the concept of a constitution and a consultative assembly was taken up again by the prince and heir, Emir Fahd, the present sovereign, but it was not followed by any practical steps. The royal family, which has more than 5,000 members, totally dominates Saudi society, thanks to a sage system of matrimonial alliances contracted with the most important tribes in the country. Jealous of its prerogatives, it is little inclined to share the absolute power it has, which it exercises through the king and the Council of Princes representing the various branches of the Saudi dynasty. At difficult moments, it is the council which, in the process of a series of conclaves, decides what line will be followed, in cooperation with the kingdom's body of ulemas. It is thanks to this family and religious consensus that the deposition of King Sa'ud in 1964 to make way for his brother Faysal, and the assassination of the latter in March of 1975, did not cause a serious crisis in the kingdom.

#### The Soudeyri Clan

One of the constant concerns of the Council of Princes is to see to the fragile balance existing within the royal family between the traditionalists and the modernists. It was thus in order to offset the influence of the all-powerful Soudeyri clan (including King Fahd and six of his brothers born of the same mother, among them the minister of defense, Emir Sultan, and Emir Nayif, the minister of interior), the main force in the modernist faction, King Khaled, regarded as close to the traditionalists, appointed the leader of this group, Emir Abdallah (the prince who is the present heir to the throne) as second vice president of the council.

It was also for this purpose of guaranteeing the balance that the regular army, controlled by the Soudeyri clan, and the national guard, commanded by Emir Abdallah, have remained two entirely separate bodies, even on the

supreme command level. The regular army had long been regarded with a certain mistrust, following the attempted coup d'etat organized by air force officers in 1969. The national guard, which recruits basically from the tribes known for their unwavering loyalty toward the Sa'ud dynasty, has the specific task of repressing any hint of military or popular rebellion. The veritable Pretorian guard of the regime, it is kept isolated from the rest of the population in military camps located on the periphery of the large cities.

The traditionalist princes benefit from the support of the body of ulemas, which is dominated by the El-Sheikh family, which is linked with the reigning dynasty by numerous matrimonial alliances. The ulemas interpret and strictly implement the Islamic law, the Shari'a, which is the very basis of the judicial code of the country, using every means to oppose the modernization of the kingdom and all efforts to liberalize social life. It is true that they were not able to prevent the introduction of the radio and television, deemed politically indispensable in order to counteract "foreign propaganda." However they did succeed in preventing the establishment of moving picture theaters and in rigorously controlling the education of the young people, girls in particular. They have their own religious police, the "committees for public morality," to guarantee the proper application of the Islamic precepts. All efforts to limit the activities of these committees, whose members do not hesitate to force their way into private homes to establish whether there is any violation of the religious precepts, have been futile.

The reforms promised by King Fahd on his accession to power in 1982 have not been carried out. The Council of Ministers, established at the beginning of the reign of King Khaled, has seen practically no change at all, to the great detriment of the new class of technocrats trained in foreign universities and the representatives of the business bourgeoisie, who aspire to play a more active role in the development and the conduct of the country's affairs.

#### A Concealed Challenge

The semi-isolation enveloping the Wahabite kingdom makes it impossible to assess the extent of the underground movement of challenge against the political monopoly enjoyed by the Sa'ud dynasty, which has succeeded in imposing an almost total blackout on all information pertaining to "scandals" or "affairs" threatening the leading class. This information only filters out of the country in rare instances, when it involves important personalities in the regime or has to do with events involving nationals of other countries. It was in this way that it was learned on 4 August that 36 Americans were being held in Saudi prisons for common-law crimes, that is to say the possession of alcohol, through a report in THE NEW YORK TIMES stating that 17 of them had been released on 29 June in connection with the end of Ramadan.

Similarly, it was not until Dr Ghazi El-Ghossaibi, minister of health, was dismissed at the beginning of April (LE MONDE, 26 April 1984), that it was learned, thanks to leaks reported by the British press, that this gentleman, regarded as the leader of the enlightened technocrats serving within the government, had challenged King Fahd by open criticism of an instance of corruption in which certain members of the royal family were embroiled.

Commentators knowledgeable about Saudi affairs pointed out quite rightly at the time that the scandal of Dr Ghossaibi's dismissal was "the most important political event in Saudi Arabia since the occupation of the Great Mosque of Mecca in November 1979."

The occupation of the Great Mosque by religious extremists affiliated with certain members of the traditional tribes, followed by the revolt of the Shiites\* in the eastern province where the oil fields are located, simultaneously dealt a harsh blow to the prestige of the reigning family and stressed its vulnerability. These two events provided proof that Saudi Arabia could not remain protected from the turbulence created in the region by the Islamic resurgence. The scandal of Dr Ghazi El-Ghossaibi's dismissal, for its part, indicates that the Wahabite monarchy will not be able, without placing its own existence in danger, to ignore the demands of the modernists, the technocrats, the enterprise heads or intellectuals who want to be a part of a regime which can no longer be the prerogative of the Sa'ud dynasty alone.

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\* The Shiite community in Saudi Arabia totals some 200,000-300,000 persons, out of a total population estimated at about 6 million.

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CSO: 4419/13

## WESTERN VISITORS REPORTEDLY TRYING TO SECULARIZE RESISTANCE

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 23 Sep 84 p 5

[Text]

Without fanfare, the French are leading western experts in secularizing the revolution in Afghanistan. With their experience in fighting the Algerians in the war of liberation, they are well suited to do so. They hope to achieve this by helping to change the priorities of the Afghan resistance from Islam to secularism and nationalism. Like other western powers, the French believe that the Soviet Union can only be persuaded to withdraw if its interests are assured in Afghanistan. Fundamentalists who dominate the resistance are inflexible and uncompromising; hence the need for a secular and nationalist leadership of the resistance movement.

In the autumn of 1978, the armed struggle of the Afghan Mujahideen against the Marxist regime in Kabul attracted the attention of the world media. Disturbed by stories of Soviet atrocities, relief committees sprang up in the west and soon scores of western relief workers, doctors, and journalists started arriving in the country. But it soon became clear that the concern of all these visitors

was not to provide relief and assist the oppressed.

A number of them, especially those attached to the French agencies, appeared more interested in intelligence gathering. According to Mujahideen sources they established contacts with members of Shuala-i-Jawid (Maoist), Setum-i-Milli (radical nationalist faction of Parcham Party led by Tahir Budkhshi), Afghan Millat and Millat.

By the middle of 1980, the French were able to plan a merger of Maoist Shuala-i-Jawid and Setum-i-Milli. The plan, however, failed to materialise when the leader of Shuala-i-Jawid's Sazmani Azadi Mardumi Afghanistan (SAMA) group, Abdul Majid Kalakani, was arrested in Kabul by Karmal's intelligence with the help of Setum-i-Milli, and later killed. After the failure to merge secular groups, funds coming through the French agencies and Norwegian Maoists were directed to reorganize each group separately. Underground cells were established in different parts of the country to make it easier for members of these groups to obtain

aid from the headquarters of the donor agency. Soon the secular groups become active in their operations against important Mujahideen. Setum-i-Milli and Afghan Millat also become a conduit for providing information on the Mujahideen's movements to the ruling Parcham and Khalq parties.

During 1981-82, these secular groups succeeded in killing members of Jamiat-i-Islami and Hezb-i-Islami in Helmand, Herat, Kabul, Parwan, Kunar, Lagham and Bamiyan provinces. They also infiltrated some Mujahideen groups.

The French agencies operate from three bases in Afghanistan. One is under the command of Gul Muhammad, Commander of Harakat-i-Inqalab Islami in Farah province, whose operational areas include nine western and south-western provinces of Afghanistan. Another is under the command of Abdul Majid Kalakani's brother in Kalakan of Kabul; his operational areas include Bamiyan, Parwan, Baghlan and Kabul provinces. The third, based in Nooristan, under the com-

mand of Muhammad Anwar, Commander of Jihad-i-Nooristan Front, operates in Budakhshan, Takhar, Kunar, Lagham and Nengrahar provinces.

One of the senior commanders of Jamiat-i-Islami in Nooristan, Maulvi Mohammad Afzal, was won over by a Kabul agent, Brigadier Mohammad Sarwar Nooristani, a senior member of Parcham party and the Maoists. They persuaded Maulvi Afzal to announce a government of 'free Afghanistan' at a tiny village in Kamdesh district of Kunar province in early 1982. The main route of the Mujahideen passes through this village. His administration was run by Maoists. His first act was to stop the Mujahideen from passing through his territory.

Since Afzal and his Maoist friends played a significant role in creating obstacles for the Mujahideen, the Kabul government also paid more than 60 million Afghanis (US \$1.5 million), through Major Habibullah, to encourage Afzal. What is less known is that Maulvi Afzal, like Mohammad Anwar, was also financed by French and Norwegian sources. As Afzal and Anwar were propped up, Hezb-i-Islami's base in Kamdesh came under attack and its commander, Ubaidullah Khoshyar, arrested. Khoshyar was accused of being an outlaw by the so-called 'government' of Maulvi Afzal. After 18 months in detention, Khoshyar escaped.

Gul Mohammad also launched several offensives against the Hezb and Jamiat in Helmand, Farah and Herat provinces. In Hazarajat, the underground Maoists under the cover of Shura-i-

Itefaq (Behishti) operated against the two fundamentalist Shi'ite groups, Sazman Nasser and Hezbollah, known as the followers of Imam Khomeini.

By the summer of 1982, the French experts in Afghanistan had realized that it would take decades to build a stable base out of the Afghan Millat, Millat, Setum-i-Milli and Shuala-i-Jawid against the fundamentalists. So they modified their approach. They began to describe the Afghans as a society of tribes, sects and linguistic groups. By fanning these differences they hoped to introduce conflicts among the Afghans.

The French believe that by channelling help to a particular area or tribe, they will encourage the forces of disunity among the political factions of the Afghan Mujahideen, both inside and outside Afghanistan.

The French argue that once division is rife among the Mujahideen, there will be hopes for unity on an un-Islamic basis. Supporting the activities which strengthen the disunity of the Mujahideen groups makes ground for the secular groups to come together and organize themselves against the fundamentalist Mujahideen.

For the western experts, ex-King Zahir Shah is the most acceptable secular leader. For the time being, however, they are content not to advance his cause because of opposition from the Mujahideen groups. Despite all their differences, the Mujahideen still insist on the establishment of an Islamic government. However, when this commitment

is undermined, the leadership of Zahir Shah will become acceptable.

Western experts on Afghan resistance now tend to arouse nationalist feelings among people in Afghanistan. They are trying to convince the people that religion has a secondary role in the struggle against the Soviet Union, and that whatever has been achieved is due to the nationalistic feelings of the Afghans.

Realizing that the Russian retaliations, the poverty of the Afghans and their urgent needs for primary necessities are valuable weapons against the swelling of fundamentalist ranks, the experts proclaim that the withdrawal of Soviet troops is impossible as long as the Afghans are determined to set up an Islamic government. At the same time they stress that the Soviet will leave if Zahir Shah or any other moderate leadership were to take over the resistance. Thus, the interests of the Soviet Union and the western nations converge as far as the future of Afghanistan is concerned.

The French experts have succeeded in persuading the western government and mass media to focus the Afghan issue as the cause of Pushtoon and Tajik, rather than of an Islamic Ummah. They are trying to persuade the Afghans that the Tajik is good and the Pushtoon bad, or the other way around, or that the Pushtoos ruled for centuries and now it is the turn of the Tajiks. In this way, they hope, the issue will change from its present Islamic form to a nationalist movement.

Mulsimedia —

AFGHAN PLANE REPORTEDLY LANDS IN PAKISTAN

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 23 Sep 84 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD (DPA) -- An Afghan Air Force AN-24 transport plane crossed over to Pakistan yesterday and landed at Miranshah Airport about 300 kilometers southwest of Islamabad, an official spokesman announced here.

Immediately after landing at Miranshah at 0500 GMT, the spokesman said, the crew and five other persons on board the plane "surrendered" to the Pakistani authorities.

It was not clear from the official announcement whether the plane had defected to Pakistan or had strayed into Pakistani airspace and been forced to land.

Miranshah is the administrative center of Pakistan's north Waziristan tribal territory bordering Afghanistan.

An UPI report meanwhile said perpetrators of a bomb explosion that killed 28 people and injured hundreds at Kabul Airport have been arrested, the official Afghan Radio said Friday.

Western diplomats in New Delhi said the blast Aug. 30 killed 28 people and

injured up to 350, most of them Afghan students on their way to the Soviet Union.

"A group of bandits who had a hand in the Kabul Airport bomb blast in which innocent people died have been caught and the case is under investigation, the results of which will be brought to the people's notice," Kabul Radio said.

Afghan officials routinely refer to guerillas or Mujahideen fighting Soviet and Afghan troops as "bandits".

The radio did not say how many were arrested.

A guerilla radio station, based in Iran, claimed the bombing was mounted by the guerillas "in protest against the government policy of educating youth in the Soviet Union," a Western diplomat said in New Delhi.

It was placed by Mujahideen in a tin truck outside the door of the terminal," created a "dramatic blast, blowing out plate glass windows and bringing down section of the interior ceiling," the diplomat said.



## BANGLADESH

### UNGA DELEGATION LEADER HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE

#### Plans for UN

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 4 Sep 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Bangladesh has announced her candidature for the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly in 1986.

Bangladesh will also seek membership in the UN Security Council the same year.

Adviser for Foreign Affairs Mr Humayun Rashid Choudhury made both the announcements yesterday at a press conference held at the Foreign Ministry.

Mr Choudhury said the announcements were also simultaneously made in the United Nations headquarters in New York yesterday--first ever by any country much ahead of the schedule.

The Foreign Affairs adviser, who is leading the Bangladesh delegation to the 39th UN General Assembly beginning from September 18, said Bangladesh since her entry into the world body in 1974 had made effective contribution to advancing the cause of peace, progress, international cooperation and development.

Mr Humayun Rashid said Bangladesh being chairman of the 14th Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference, will preside over the ministerial level meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) due to be held in New York on October 4.

He will also address the Foreign Ministers' meeting of Group-77 and the Non-Aligned ministers' meeting during his stay in New York besides addressing the UN General Assembly session on October 1.

BSS adds: Mr Chowdhury pointed out that Dhaka had contested for the presidency of UN General Assembly in 1981 but in the first ballot the result ended in tie with Iraq.

He said that earlier, Bangladesh was elected a member of the UN Security Council in 1979-80 and had earned universal admiration for the role it played during its tenure.



Replying to a question, he said after sounding about Bangladesh's candidature for the posts of UN General Assembly presidency and membership of the UN Security Council "we have found encouraging response and we stand for a reasonable chance."

The Foreign Adviser pointed out that Bangladesh had already nominated former Finance Minister A.M.A. Muhith to contest for the post of UNCTAD Secretary-General.

He, however, said that the Asian group had recommended to provide one year extension to the present incumbent Mr Gamani Corea of Sri Lanka. If Mr Corea does not accept the extension, the Asian group will endorse Dhaka's candidature for the post, he added.

Meanwhile, Bangladesh has been endorsed as a Vice-President of the 39th United Nations General Assembly session beginning in New York on September 18.

The Adviser said that Bangladesh will be among the 21 Vice-Presidents of three-month long UNGA session which has 138 items on the agenda.

Besides Bangladesh other countries which have also been endorsed from Asia as Vice-Presidents are Malaysia, Yemen Arab Republic, Bahrain and Cyprus.

Mr Chowdhury said that because of Bangladesh's constructive role, 'we have now been serving' in the UN bodies like UNDP Governing Council, UNESCO Executive Board, IMO Governing Council, and Chairman of the Population Award Committee and the Committee on Natural Resources.

Besides, he recalled, Bangladesh had served as Chairman of the Group of 77, Chairman-delegate for the Council of Namibia to the 3rd UN Law of the Sea Conference, Rapporteur of the UN Adhoc Committee Against Recruitment, Financing and the Use of Mercenaries, and Vice-Chairman of the preparatory committee of the SSOD-II.

Bangladesh has also been elected Chairman of the Asian group on the Commission of Human Rights, member of the sub-commission on the prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities, the adviser said adding, we have also been nominated as Chairman for the 41st session of the Human Rights Commission to be held in 1985.

Mr Chowdhury who leaves here today for New York, referred to active participation of Bangladesh in various UN bodies and international agencies. He said the cooperation of Bangladesh is sought by the international community for the benefit of our leadership for promoting international peace, cooperation and development because of the constructive and moderating role we play.

The Foreign Adviser said the 39th UNGA will continue for nearly three months to complete deliberations on 138 items on the agenda.

The important political issues on the agenda, he said, included Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Iraq-Iran war, situation in central America, West Asia, Palestine, Lebanon, disarmament and international security and Namibia.

Besides, he said, economic issues like the deteriorating international economic situation, explosive debt problems, deadlocked North-South dialogue, protectionism and the question of least developed countries (LDCs) will also be discussed.

He had also been invited to address a special meeting of diplomats, academicians and research-scholars sponsored by Asia Society in New York.

Mr Chowdhury said that the 39th UNGA session this year has a special significance for Bangladesh. Because on this month 10 years ago, Dhaka had been admitted as the 136th member of the United Nations. This was indeed a historic moment as, he said, Bangladesh found its rightful place in the comity of nations as a sovereign, independent country.

The adviser said that as Chairman of G-77, Bangladesh during 1982-83 had promoted through moderating and pragmatic role, consensus between the North and South. He said although the much awaited North-South dialogue has yet to be launched, Bangladesh is actively assisting present Chairman of G-77, ambassador Munoz Ledo of Mexico in narrowing the gap between the North and the South.

He referred to Bangladesh special concern as an LDC country in promoting the implementation of the Substantial New Programme of action (SNPA) adopted in Paris in 1981. He said: "we are working closely with our group members in the success of the mid-term review of SNPA to be held in 1985."

#### Issues for Discussion

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 4 Sep 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Foreign Affairs Adviser Humayun Rashid Choudhury said he would discuss the 'whole gamut' of bilateral relations including the burning issues like South Talpatty, Tin Bigha, Ganges waters and barbed wire fence with the Indian Foreign Minister in New York.

Mr Choudhury faced a volley of questions from newsmen at his first ever press conference held at the Foreign Ministry yesterday on the Indo-Bangladesh relations vis-a-vis a number of unresolved issues standing between the two countries.

Asked whether he would take up issues like South Talpatty island, Tin Bigha corridor specifically during his forthcoming meeting with the Indian Foreign Minister, the adviser in a curt reply said the whole gamut of bilateral relations would come up for discussion.

Pressed further to be specific, Mr Choudhury said there were commitments from the Indian side and he would discuss specifically the issues.

He said he requested the Indian Foreign Minister to fix a date for the proposed meeting in New York where both the adviser and the Indian Foreign Minister would attend the UN General Assembly session.

Replying to a question on the handing over of the Tin Bigha corridor, the adviser said he wanted to see the problems settled in no time. On South Talpatty, he said both the countries had agreed for carrying out joint survey to determine the position of the newly emerged island in the Bay.

He told another questioner that Bangladesh could not support everything done by the Soviet Union though she recalled with gratitude the Soviet support during the 1971 Liberation War.

The adviser said Bangladesh remained 'firm' on her stand on the Afghanistan issue and demanded withdrawal of the Soviet troops from there and let the Afghan people choose freely their own government.

When his attention was drawn to a newspaper report on shipment of huge arms from an European country to Chittagong Port, the Adviser said he went through the report adding, "we are looking into the matter and we will duly inform you if we get anything."

Mr Humayun Rashid Choudhury is leaving Dhaka today for Washington to complete the formalities as outgoing ambassador to the United States and other countries accredited.

Later he will fly to New York to lead the Bangladesh delegation that will comprise five foreign ministry officials and four non-official members.

Replying to another question he said he was not aware of the political party affiliation of the non-government members of the delegation when a correspondent asked whether they belonged to Janada.

Mr Choudhury is expected to return home on October 11.

CSO: 4600/1013

DHAKA REACTS TO KAMAL STATEMENT ON GANGES

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 23 Aug 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] A spokesman of the Foreign Ministry on Wednesday clarified the position in respect of the reported claims made recently by former Foreign Minister Dr Kamal Hossain on the question of Ganges water sharing and the land boundary and maritime agreements with India, reports BSS.

"It has become necessary to put the records straight," the spokesman said when questioned about a news report appearing in the August 17 issue of daily Ittefaq wherein Dr Kamal Hossain have claimed credit for obtaining 44,000 cusecs of Ganges water for Bangladesh, and for having signed land boundary and maritime boundary agreements, and blamed the subsequent governments for failure to implement them.

The land boundary agreement was signed on the 16th of May 1974. The agreement was ratified on the 28th of November by the Government of Bangladesh, the same year through an amendment of its Constitution without ensuring reciprocal ratification by the other party. Furthermore, Berubari was allowed to be retained by India without ensuring the implementation of the lease in perpetuity of the Tin Bigha corridor and its handing over to Bangladesh. It is a travesty of truth to say that an agreement was signed on maritime boundary, as no such agreement on maritime boundary was signed.

Regarding the sharing agreement pertaining to the apportionment of the 44,000 cusecs of waters of the Ganges to Bangladesh for a short specified period, the spokesman stated that on the 19th of April 1975, for the first time, Bangladesh surrendered institutionally its legal and inalienable rights to the entire flows of the lower reaches of the Ganges which was already the residual flow because of heavy withdrawal upstream and settled for 44,000 cusecs to the detriment of the interest of Bangladesh. This has bound the hands of the subsequent negotiators in effectively negotiating the sharing of waters of the Ganges. Thus the problem that was faced by subsequent negotiators would not have arisen had Bangladesh in April 1975 not agreed to this. So the obtaining of 44,000 cusecs of waters of the Ganges should not be cited as an achievement for the then negotiators of Bangladesh. It was quite the contrary.

The spokesman further recalled that in 1972 a trade pact was signed with India, the central feature of which was the creation of a 10 miles free trade zone on both sides of the border, the ill-effects of which are well-known to the people of Bangladesh.

JANADAL LEADER INTERVIEWED ON ELECTION STRATEGY

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 5 Sep 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by Kazi Montu]

[Text] The government is planning various moves to encounter the opposition threat of boycotting the parliamentary election scheduled for December 8.

The mainstream opposition comprising the 15-party alliance and the 7-party combine has taken an articulate stand of not participating in the election until and unless martial law is lifted and it is held under "non-party" and "neutral" government.

A high-level meeting held on Monday at Bongabhaban with President Ershad in the chair discussed various issues relating to the opposition call for a countrywide dawn-to-dusk hartal on September 27, contradiction within the Janadal, constitution of the supreme council of the party and formation of a political front with the Janadal in the centre.

The meeting was attended by the ministers belonging to the Janadal, those non-party ministers who are playing vital role in the political process of the government and some high military officials.

According to a highly-placed source, emissaries of the government have been carrying on informal parleys with a number of opposition leaders in order to form a political front.

Besides, some minor political groups have already given their consent to join a "broad-based" political front. Among these groups are BNP (Dudu), KSP of A.S.M. Solaiman, segments of the two factions of Muslim League and Awami league (democratic) led by Nur-e-Alam Siddiqui.

The leaders of these political groups met last week to discuss their joining the government-sponsored front.

On the other hand, the government is awaiting favorable response from those individuals who belong to the mainstream opposition. It is learnt that they are not willing to take any decision before September 27. They want to see political developments in the wake of the dawn-to-dusk hartal on September 27, an informed source disclosed.

Talking to HOLIDAY on the issue of the front, Janadal secretary-general and Local Government Minister Mahbubur Rahman said, "There are like minded political groups who want to align themselves with us by forming a political front for strengthening the hands of President Ershad and helping him to implement his socio-economic and political programmes."

He further said, "among them there are prominent political stalwarts."

According to a source in the government, if the government succeeds in persuading the opposition political parties to participate in the parliamentary election to be held on December 8 there is a possibility of presidential election being held in the fourth week of December.

There are talks on the prospect of forming a multi-party cabinet at the highest-level of the government if a viable political front emerges. The cabinet, it is understood, will be an answer to the demand of the 15-party alliance and 7-party combine for holding election under a "non-party" and "neutral" government.

An announcement on the constitution of supreme council of the Janadal is going to be made shortly.

It is gathered that President Ershad has agreed to approve the list of names suggested by Party Secretary-General Mahbubur Rahman. These names include Mahbubur Rahman himself (its member-secretary), Prime Minister Ataur Rahman Khan, Janadal Vice-Chairman Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury, Textile Minister Korban Ali, Education Minister Shamsul Huda Chowdhury, Ports and Shipping Minister Reazuddin Ahmed and four other ministers.

Contradiction within the Janadal has become a matter of concern for its offstage patrons.

But the Secretary General of the Party, Mahbubur Rahman denies existence of any contradiction in the party. He said, "Those who talk of contradiction in the Janadal are motivated and trying to create it artificially."

He said, "It is a programme-based party and its programme is 18-point programme of President Ershad. Everyone in the party has to be totally committed to the programme and President Ershad and hence there is no scope for contradiction."

Pointing to his opponents he said, "If some persons are jealous of present prosperity and popularity of the party we can only pity them."

Referring to the press reports on conflicts in the party he said, "The reported wrangles at various levels of the party is the sign of its largeness and at times such wrangles break out because of contention among several persons for a particular office."

The Janadal Secretary-General observed, "these are nothing but natural and in a party of lively, exuberant and enthusiastic people we can't expect peace of the graveyard."

However, in spite of stiff opposition within the party Mahbubur Rahman has succeeded in strengthening his position by reorganising the committees of the party at its different tiers. The process of reorganising the Janadal will be completed within the next two weeks. In his efforts to consolidate his position in the party he has enjoyed blessing of the party's offstage patrons.

His opponents accuse him of obstructing emergence of "monolithic unity" in his party of hetrogenous elements.

The government and the Janadal have continued discussions at highest levels on how to encounter the dawn-to-dusk hartal by the mainstream opposition. In this connection Janadal Secretary remarked, "We won't speak, we will act."

It is being apprehended that the political situation may turn for the worse on the issue of September 27 hartal. The sponsors of the hartal still talk of restraint as they fear that any act of violence will provide the government a pretext to ring down restrictions on political activities once again.

On the other hand, events are happening--each presenting a fresh challenge to the government and the government is relentlessly putting in its efforts to face them.

CSO: 4600/1014



## BANGLADESH

### AMBASSADOR TO PANAMA PRESENTS CREDENTIALS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 10 Sep 84 p 10

[Text] Lt General Khwaja Wasiuddin, Permanent Representative of Bangladesh to the United Nations presented his credentials to the President of Panama Mr Jorge Enrique Illueca as the First Ambassador of Bangladesh to this Central American Republic on Friday, according to a PID handout.

The brief but impressive ceremonies took place in the yellow salon of the Presidential palace in Panama city. Ambassador Wasiuddin is concurrently accredited to Panama and a few other countries in Latin America with residence in New York.

After the presentation, Ambassador Wasiuddin held discussions with President Illueca and Foreign Minister Oyden Ortega Duran on bilateral relations between the two countries. He conveyed the warm greetings and best wishes of President Ershad, the government and the People of Bangladesh to President Illueca, the Government and the people of Panama and observed that the establishment of diplomatic relations at Ambassadorial level symbolised the desire of Bangladesh to strengthen bilateral relations between the two countries.

President Illueca warmly reciprocated the sentiments and expressed the hope that friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries would be further consolidated and expanded in international forums and at bilateral levels.

Ambassador Wasiuddin informed President Illueca of the programme of socio-economic development and about the forthcoming election in Bangladesh. Their discussions also covered regional issues, particularly progress in the South Asia Regional Cooperation which was initiated by Bangladesh.

CSO: 4600/1013

CONTENTS OF LAND REFORM ORDINANCE REPORTED

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Sep 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Recommendations for significant and far reaching arrangements have been made in the Land Reforms Ordinance and Land Reforms Rule promulgated by the government, according to an official announcement in Dhaka on Monday, reports BSS.

Some of the salient features of the Ordinance are: Person or family having more than 60 bighas of agricultural land will not be able to own additional land either by transfer, inheritance, gift or by any other means. Person or family having less than 60 bighas of agricultural land can own agricultural land up to 60 bighas. Anybody possessing more than 60 bighas of agricultural land will have to vest the additional land with the government and for which no compensation will be paid. But it will be paid if the land was acquired through inheritance, gift or will.

Compensation will be paid at the rate of 20 percent of the market value for vested land if it does not exceed 50 bighas, and at the rate of 10 percent for the land exceeding 50 bighas.

Under this Ordinance transfer of benami immovable property has been prohibited.

None can be evicted from land being used as homestead. Khas land for habitation will be distributed among the landless peasants and workers on priority basis. But the ceiling of land for this purpose will not exceed five khatas.

Without agreement none shall give his land to others for cultivation or others shall cultivate land. The period of share-cropping agreement will last five years. If anybody cultivates lands as share-cropper (Bargadar) before the promulgation of this Ordinance he will be treated as share-cropper under it. The land owner and share-croppers will have to conclude share-cropping agreement in "Cha" form within 90 days of the promulgation of this Ordinance. This agreement will be executed on non-judicial stamp worth Taka three. The owner, share-cropper and the authority will retain one copy each of the agreement.

The owner of the land can set aside the agreement with the permission of the authority subject to certain conditions.

Of the produce, the land owner will get one-third and the share-cropper will get one-third and the remaining one-third of the produce will be shared between the owners and share-croppers proportionate to production cost. The labour cost will not be included in it. Both the sides will sign on "Ka" form receipts when the share-croppers will hand over the share of the owners after thrashing crops.

If the owner of the land wants to sell his land to anybody besides the members of his family he will have to ask the share-cropper in writing as to whether he (share-cropper) will buy the land. The land owner will have the right to sell the land to others if the share-cropper does not reply, or expresses his inability to purchase, or refuses to pay the price demanded by the former. The share-cropping agreement will, however, remain valid if the share-cropped land is sold to others.

No share-cropper shall be able to cultivate share-cropped land above 15 bighas. In that case the produce of the share-cropper in the additional land shall be procured by the government. The government shall also procure the produce of the land cultivated by sharecropper without any agreement.

The authority will mediate any dispute arising between the two sides. Appeal can be filed within 40 days of the judgement of the authority. The judgement of the appeal authority will have to be deemed as final. A fine up to Tk 2,000 will be imposed if any side violates any provision of the Ordinance.

CSO: 4600/1022

## BRIEFS

**AID FOR CHITTAGONG**--Finland will provide a grant of FM33.50 million (14.5 crore Taka) to Bangladesh for implementation of "Chittagong port interim container handling development project" under an agreement signed in Dhaka on Saturday reports BSS. The assistance would continue from 1984 to 1986. The long-term objective of the project is to create a reliable container terminal in the port of Chittagong. The agreement was signed by Mr A.Z. Khan, Joint Secretary External Resources Division and Mr Mikko Pyhala, Charge d'Affaires of the Government of the Republic of Finland, on behalf of their respective governments. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 26 Aug 84 p 3]

**IDB ANNUAL MEETING**--The ninth annual meeting of the Islamic Development Bank and the sixth meeting of the governors of the central banks of the OIC member countries will be held from February 1 to 4 next year in Dhaka. The conference will be attended by the finance Ministers of the OIC. Iran, though a member of the OIC, will not participate because she is not a member of the IDB. The inaugural conference will be held on February 2 and will be addressed by President H.M. Ershad. The delegates will start arriving in the city from January 31. The procedural matter will be discussed on February 1. The entire cost of the conference will be borne by the Islamic Development Bank. This will be the second important meeting of the Islamic Nations to be held in Dhaka. It may be recalled that the Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference was held in Dhaka in December last year. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 24 Aug 84 p 1]

**INCIDENT OVER BURMA**--A Bangladesh Air Force helicopter was hit by gunfire over Burma and safe landed at Thailand Maesod airfield, 420 kilometer north-west of Bangkok with its six-member crew on Thursday, an ISPR Press release said in Dhaka on Sunday, reports BSS. The helicopter was flying from Rangoon to Bangkok enroute to Singapore for a routine overhaul. Overhauling of BAF helicopters are usually done at Singapore. The aircraft was hit while it had been flying over an area where Burmese Government troops are fighting separatist Karen rebels. Close contacts have been established with the authorities in Bangkok immediately after the accident, the Press release said. Meanwhile, Thai Government has been rendering all possible assistance for the aircraft and its crew. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 20 Aug 84 p 1]

**BREAK WITH LIBERIA**--Bangladesh has severed all political diplomatic, cultural and economic relations with Liberia with immediate effect, a spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said on Saturday, reports BSS. The decision of the Republic of Liberia to re-establish diplomatic relations with Israel has come as a great shock to the government and the people of Bangladesh, the spokesman said. He said Liberia's move to resume diplomatic ties with Israel clearly violated the resolutions of the organisation of Islamic conference and Al-quds Committee. In view of Bangladesh's total commitment to the cause of its Muslim, Arab and Palestinian brothers, Bangladesh announced immediate severance of all ties including diplomatic relations with Liberia, he said. The spokesman, however, said that the Bangladesh Government hopes that the widespread condemnation of Liberia's decision to establish links with Israel would lead to the rethinking and subsequent rescinding of the decision by Liberia. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Aug 84 p 1]

**ENVOY TO FINLAND**--The Government have decided to accredit concurrently Syed Najmuddin Hashim, at present Ambassador of Bangladesh in Moscow, as Ambassador to the Republic of Finland, a Foreign Office Press release said in Dhaka on Sunday, reports BSS for the year 1984-85 in the election. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 20 Aug 84 p 12]

**NEW FOREIGN SECRETARY**--Foreign Secretary Ataul Karim is learnt to have been tipped to become permanent representative to Geneva and Ambassador to Switzerland. Additional Foreign Secretary Faruq Ahmed Choudhury is going to succeed Mr Ataul Karim as Foreign Secretary. Bangladesh Permanent Representative to Geneva and Ambassador to Switzerland Mr A.K.H. Morshed is coming back home to take up his new assignment as Additional Foreign Secretary. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 23 Aug 84 p 1]

**INDIAN BORDER FENCE**--Rangpur, Aug 26--India has been preparing to erect barbed wire fence along the border in violation of the agreement signed between the two countries last June. According to reports reaching from Rangpur-Coochbehar border, India has set up at least 25 new camps. A huge lot of barbed wire materials are stored in all these camps which have been strengthened with 15 to 20 BSF men and equipped with modern arms. This development along the border has created panic in the border villages of the district. A meeting between high officials of BDR and BSF held on June 10 reached an accord to defuse tension in the border. Following that, additional border forces of both the countries were withdrawn earlier. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 27 Aug 84 p 1]

**BANGLADESH-PRC CULTURAL COOPERATION**--The three-member Bangladesh cultural delegation which visited China recently at the invitation of the Chinese Deputy Minister for Culture held discussions with the Chinese government leaders on increased bilateral cultural exchanges reports BSS. The delegation, led by the Additional Secretary of the Cultural Affairs Division, Mr Nurul Islam Khan, during its stay in China, held cordial talks with the Vice-Chairman Chien Chun Chao, the Cultural Minister, Chu-Mu-Chi and Deputy

Minister Zhao Wei Zhee. They held detailed discussions on the cultural agreement and the two-year programme and decided, on principle, that both the governments would review the subject of increased cultural exchanges between the two countries. The delegation visited Beijing, Shanghai and Canton and went round various cultural and historical places. The delegation also met Chinese authors, painters and singers and exchanged views with them. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 28 Aug 84 p 1]

NEW SAUDI AMBASSADOR--Mr Abdul Latif Abdullah Ibrahim al-Maimanee has been appointed Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to Bangladesh, it was officially announced in Dhaka on Wednesday, reports BSS. Mr Al-Maimanee, 44, will succeed Sheikh Fuad Abdul Hamid Al-Khateeb who was Saudi Ambassador in Bangladesh till October 1982. Born on January 2, 1940, Mr Al-Maimanee graduated from Cairo University in Economics and Political Science in 1964. He also earned Master's Degree in international Relations from USA in 1974. Mr Al-Maimanee joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1965. He served Saudi Embassies in Tokyo and Washington before becoming counsellor to the Permanent Representative of Saudi Arabia in the European office of UN in Geneva. In 1980 he was appointed Supervisor of Economic and Cultural Department at General Court and promoted to the rank of Minister plenipotentiary. Mr Al-Maimanee was chief of OIC Commission for Economic and Cultural Affairs in the 10th session at Jeddah in 1983. He was Chief Editor of Saudi Gazette in 1984. He is married and has children. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 23 Aug 84 p 1]

ENVOY TO UNITED STATES--Government has decided to appoint Mr S.M. Shafiul Azam an Ambassador of Bangladesh to the United States of America, it was officially announced in Dhaka on Wednesday, reports BSS. Mr Azam, who is now Minister for Energy and Mineral Resources, would succeed in Washington Mr Humayun Rashid Chowdhury, now Adviser to the President for Foreign Affairs. Mr Shafiul Azam was appointed Minister for Jute, Government of Bangladesh in 1977 and became Adviser to the President of Bangladesh in 1979 with the rank and status of a Cabinet Minister. He was Minister for Commerce and Industries of the Government of Bangladesh in 1982. Currently he is Minister for Energy and Mineral Resources of the Government of Bangladesh. Mr Azam represented Bangladesh in various international conferences and seminars. Also led Bangladesh delegation to a number of international conferences including ministerial delegate to the ESCAP, Bangkok in 1979. Non-Aligned Foreign Minister's Conference of the Group of 77 held in New York in 1982 in the UNCATED-VI meeting held in Baghdad and Belgrade in 1983 and in the Solidarity Conference in Sana sponsored by UNIDO and Government of Yemen in 1984. Mr Azam is married and has three children. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 23 Aug 84 p 12]

MAJOR HUDA DETAINED--Major (Retd) Bazlul Huda, a member of the Central Committee of Democratic League was given one month's detention on Monday. He was picked up from his village home at Hatbholia, Kushtia on Monday noon. He has been sent to Chuadanga Jail. Major (Retd) Huda had gone to his village home from Dhaka for celebration of Eid-ul-Azha with the members of his family. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Sep 84 p 1]

NEW BELGIAN ENVOY--Mr Henry H. Vandreche has been appointed ambassador of Belgium to Bangladesh, reports BSS. Born on September 14, 1922, Mr Vandreche graduated in commercial and consular sciences as well as in politics and international relations. He joined the diplomatic service in 1949 and was successively posted in Djakarta, Bogota and Warsaw. He was ambassador in Bgogni and Niemey. Since September 1980, Mr Vandreche has been assigned to the Ministry of External relations in Brussels. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 10 Sep 84 p 3]

BIRENDRA VISIT PLANNED--The Nepalese King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah will visit Bangladesh "soon" at the invitation of President Lt Gen H.M. Ershad, Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperation Minister Mahbubur Rahman disclosed it in Dhaka on Tuesday, reports ENA. He told newsmen at Zia International Airpor on his return home after four-day visit to the Himalayan Kingdom that the date and time of the visit will be fixed at a mutually convenient time. The Minister said he handed over President Ershad's invitation to the Nepalese King. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 12 Sep 84 p 1]

BANGLADESH-MALAYSIA COMMITTEE--Kuala Lumpur, Sept 14--The first meeting of the Bangladesh-Malaysia joint committee ended here yesterday with the signing of agreed minutes, reports BSS. The minutes were signed by Secretary of the External Resources Division and leader of Bangladesh delegation, Mr M. Muniruzzaman and Secretary General of Malaysian Foreign Affairs, Tan Sri Zainal Abdin Bin Sulong, on behalf of their respective countries. The entire gamut of bilateral relations in trade, joint ventures, technical and cultural cooperation was reviewed during the two-day meeting. Both sides identified a number of commodities to be included in the Special Trading arrangements (STA) between the two countries with a view to increasing the volume of trade. The two sides also discussed the possibilities of STA between the state trading organisations of both the countries as well as counter trade arrangements. The Malaysian side agreed to consider Bangladesh's proposal of joint ventures in industrial and banking sectors. Malaysia also offered to provide training facilities to Bangladesh under its technical collaboration programme. Bangladesh offered to train Malaysian personnel in select training institutions in Bangladesh. Both sides also agreed to expand cooperation in shipping and tourism. It was also agreed that the next meeting of the committee will be held in Dhaka in the first half of 1985. Both sides also agreed to hold trade review meeting as provided under the trade agreement at an early date. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 15 Sep 84 p 10]

DPRK DONATION--Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) has decided to give two thousand tons of cement for the flood hit people of Bangladesh, reports BSS. In Wednesday's story of BSS it was inadvertently reported that the donation will be made by South Korea. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 Sep 84 p 3]

AMBASSADOR TO MOROCCO--The government has decided to concurrently accredit Major-General Mohammad Abdur Rahman, at present Ambassador of Bangladesh to France, as Bangladesh Ambassador to the Kingdom of Morocco, an official announcement here said yesterday. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 12 Sep 84 p 3]



NEW GREEK ENVOY--Mr George Sioris has been appointed ambassador of Greece to Bangladesh with residence in New Delhi it was announced in Dhaka on Sunday, says BSS. Born in 1939 Mr Sioris graduated from the Law School of the University of Athens. A career diplomat, Mr Sioris joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1965. He served Greek embassies in Tokyo, New Delhi, Peking and Washington. He became ambassador to India in 1984. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Sep 84 p 3]

CSO; 4600/1023

IRP ORGAN ON IRAN'S EFFORTS TO EXPEL ISRAEL FROM UN

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 8 Sep 84 p 11

[Text] In the name of God, the compassionate, the mericful. Once more the archsatan, the criminal U.S. through the use of its veto and its opposition to the UN Security Council resolution on the proposal for the evacuation of southern Lebanon by the regime occupying Jerusalem, showed that it still recognizes the law of the jungle and does not accept any reason or logic except that of aggression and breaking the law.

Some time ago the Lebanese Government lodged a complaint with the U.N. Security Council and called for a session of this assembly to investigate the aggressions of the regime occupying Jerusalem in southern Lebanon. This complaint was based on UN Security Council Resolutions 508 and 509 which were passed in July 1982 and demanded the unconditional withdrawal of the aggressor forces of the regime occupying Jerusalem from southern Lebanon. The Lebanese Government on this basis proposed a resolution to the Security Council in which it criticized Israeli actions in the occupied regions of Lebanon. This resolution was very mild in tone, and considering the very essence of the subject in question, one would not expect anything more from the Lebanese Government.

Last Thursday, 6 September 1984, the proposed Lebanese Government resolution came under discussion at the UN Security Council and it was passed with 14 favorable votes. But the United States, which was the only opposing member to this resolution in the Security Council, vetoed it! Thus once more it showed that it has no respect for the UN Security Council and its members, and does not in any way recognize other nations' rights. The degree of U.S. disrespect toward the Security Council was such that its representative would not agree to participate in the discussions of the Lebanese proposed resolution in the Security Council and would not listen to the statements and arguments of Security Council members against Israel. The United States representative only showed up during the vote-taking period in the session and by casting her veto she showed the UN Security Council members that if they intend to resist the desires and wishes of the archsatan they should know that their votes would not amount to anything at all.

Regarding the veto of the UN Security Council resolution by the United States, some important points need to be clarified: First, this U.S. action once again proves that it is a vain hope to depend on international assemblies and that southern Lebanon can only be freed from the occupation of the Zionists through an armed revolt. This act would be a beginning to the freedom of Palestine from the suzerainty of the usurpers. Meanwhile, the Palestinian people should not pin their hopes on any fruitful political measures.

Second, reactionary Arab governments and other Islamic governments who are providing America with a base and cooperate with the archsatan politically and militarily and support Israeli friends with their oil, with regard to the recent American move must be ready to answer their own people. Governments ruling over Islamic nations must be accountable to their people as to whether they should continue friendly relations with a government which encourages the Zionists to remain in southern Lebanon which is an Islamic land.

Third, the effort by the Islamic Republic of Iran to expel the regime occupying Jerusalem from the United Nations must be ever more persevered in until at some future stage there will be another way to uproot this usurious regime. The threat by Reagan to leave the United Nations if the regime occupying Jerusalem is voted out is something which ought to give joy to Islamic nations. All Islamic countries and other Third World nations must make the most of this exceptional opportunity in order to eliminate the right to a single vote. This will set a precedent and eradicate other illegitimate privileges enjoyed by the four other nations as far as veto right is concerned.

12719

CSO: 4640/410

ADMIRAL MADANI ASSERTS OWN GROUP'S POLITICAL VISION

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 15 Sep 84 p 6

[Interview with Admiral Ahmad Madani by Wolfgang Guenter Lerch: "Tolerance, Pluralism, and Respect for the Values of Islamic Religion"]

[Text] "It is our goal to establish a government in Iran which allows everyone to speak his mind. We also want to uphold respect for the Islamic religion which stands for tolerance and love among men and not hatred and violence. A Western-type democracy will not work in Iran without difficulties, especially not in the beginning; but what I have in mind is India, a country rightly called the greatest democracy in the world."

These were the words with which opposition leader Admiral Ahmad Madani, who lives in Paris, explained the political views of his exile group during an interview for this newspaper. The admiral denied claims by the "Mojahedin-e Khalq" [Islamic guerrilla group], also based in Paris, that he had written to leaders of the Islamic Republic to offer his "services" to the Ayatollah Khomeyni once again. It is true that he had written to Khomeyni and Parliament President Rafsanjani, but not to offer his services but to counsel moderation and reason. That one should observe the rules of etiquette in such correspondence is a matter of course. The Mujahedin had criticized his use of the address "Dear Friend." An English newspaper recently reported that Rafsanjani had made contact with Madani on his own; an indication of a changing attitude on the part of Iranian leaders. Admiral Madani finds no fault with the "People's Mojahedin"; they had made many sacrifices in fighting Khomeyni. However, he added, their cooperation with the Iraqi enemy had damaged their reputation in Iran; after all, Iraq had started the Gulf war 4 years ago. He does not, however, think much of the ideology of Mas'ud Rajavi's social revolutionary organization, indicating that it would lead to religious fanaticism or to communism if the Mujahedin should assume power in Iran after a coup.

Admiral Madani nevertheless believes in the Islamic revolution. There is no turning back. This is the mistake being made by the monarchists surrounding former Prime Minister Bakhtiar who also lives in Paris. Iranians no longer want a king. What is needed, is to moderate and humanize the revolutionary regime. Admiral Madani thinks of himself as being a man of the "middle." He does not object to being characterized as a Western liberal.

The admiral is 55 years old. He comes from Kerman, the largest city of southeastern Iran at the western edge of the Dasht-e Lut Desert. He was partially educated in England and studied political science and other subjects. Under the shah, he became the youngest admiral in the history of the country. In 1970, after making critical remarks about the shah's regime, he was expelled from the military forces. He received a professorship and wrote several books on military and political questions some of which are regarded as standard works. He has been in prison several times.

Madani saw his chance after Khomeyni's victory. He became the Islamic Republic's first minister of defense, commander-in-chief of the navy, and governor of Khuzestan, the country's most important province and source of its oil. In 1980 he ran for the office of president against Bani-Sadr. "I received the majority of the votes," commented the admiral today, "but the mullahs changed the results so that Bani-Sadr won the election." Madani broke off with revolutionary leader Khomeyni and went abroad for 1 year before the "People's Mojahedin" and before Bani-Sadr did so.

The admiral calls Mehdi Bazargan his friend. Bazargan was the Republic's first prime minister but was stripped of his authority by Khomeyni as early as the fall of 1979. Both Bazargan and Madani emerged from the ranks of Mohammad Mossadeq's National Front. Madani's plans are to make Iran "truly neutral and unaligned with any bloc," Mossadeq's most important heritage which Madani believes is not being preserved by Khomeyni despite his slogan "Neither West nor East." The admiral is convinced that Islam will always play an important role in Iran, but he advocates that religion should be kept out of politics as much as possible. This view also ties him to Bazargan.

"In my correspondence with the Iranian leaders, I called primarily for a dialogue with Iraq," Madani continued. He believes that this war cannot be won by either side. "Tehran must talk to Baghdad but not meddle in Iraqi affairs." This remark by the opposition leader relates to Iran's demand that Iraqi President Saddam Husayn be overthrown. Admiral Madani nevertheless favors Iraqi reparation payments to Iran since Baghdad's forces started the war by attacking Khuzestan. "But we cannot decide for the Iraqis who should rule them."

Whoever wants to assume power in Iran needs the support of influential religious leaders. For that reason Admiral Madani, so he stated, has made contacts with Ayatollahs who do not look with favor on the revolutionary leader Khomeyni. However, Admiral Madani knows that this is not the time for a change in power. He must also fear sharing the fate of General Oveysi, the last well-known opposition leader who was assassinated in Paris. The admiral, however, dismisses such apprehensions by saying: "If one is afraid, one should not become involved in politics."

12628  
CSO: 4620/61

PAPER COMMEMORATES 'EARLY DAYS' OF IRAN-IRAQ WAR

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 25 Sep 84 p 3

[Text]

SINCE the war started four years ago over 1,850 military communiques have been published by the military Joint Command. The first communique described the day to day developments of the battle. It was distributed to the press on September 18, a hot and humid Thursday in 1980.

The statement started in the Name of God and simply said "The mercenary army of Iraq has carried out a number of military operations in all parts of the border and has started a war against the Islamic Republic."

According to the document, the first significant Iraqi attack took place on September 3rd when Iraqi fighters attacked Iranian radar and military bases in the south. From that day on Iraqi forces carried out military operations by using long range artillery or air bombardment.

One day before the publication of the first Iranian military communique, the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussain spoke in the Baath National Council. In his speech, he declared that the Baghdad government "no longer holds valid the Iran-Iraq border agreement". Saddam said "We shall fight anyone who tries to oppose our decision".

The border agreement was signed between the two countries through Algerian mediation in 1975 and determined Iran-Iraq frontiers. It was designed to end disputes that existed about the border area particularly the southern "Arvand-Rood" or the Shat Al-Arab waterway. Saddam also openly stated that the Baath army "has occupied a number of Iranian border posts". The Iraqi dictator urged Iranian officials to learn from the recent events and accept his demands.

All through the summer of 1980, border skirmishes and various acts of terrorism had taken place on Iranian soil. Oil and gas pipelines from the southern oil refinery were destroyed by bomb explosions which no one ever claimed responsibility for.

Iraqi military aircraft took an increasing number of reconnaissance flights over Iran. In large cities, explosion of bombs in heavily populated areas left hundreds dead and wounded. In one case, a few weeks before the all-out Iraqi offensive, a bomb exploded in front of a hotel in the southern city of Ahvaz, killing and wounding 39 people. The explosion broke windows in a 200 meter radius.

As the number of sporadic Iraqi attacks increased, so did the intensity of their fire power. Iraq's artillery guns started pounding Iranian border installations and civilian areas. The next stage of Iraqi strategy was to attack Iran's border posts.

According to the former head of the Joint Military Command, Brigadier General Falahi, "all border posts were evacuated because of heavy Iraqi attacks and unavailability of arms." He also told a newspaper reporter that "Iraq is helping certain elements in the Kurdistan Province in attacking military barracks and creating general unrest". At this point provincial officials started moving civilians from areas under direct Iraqi fire.

Meanwhile in cities far from the war zone, general unrest was on the rise. The unavailability of correct news flamed the fires of rumors and made people uncertain about the future. The government decided to create official channels for the flow of the war news.

The government also decided to start aerial bombing practices for civilians in case Iraqi bombers attacked. At nights, suddenly lights would go out and an alarm would be sounded on radio and television. Within seconds the city would go dark and anti-aircraft guns would create "walls of fire" around the city. Most people would rush to the rooftops to watch the fire display rather than take refuge in the basement.

The media beat the drums of Islamic patriotism by printing stories of confrontations. One night before the major Iraqi offensive, the Kayhan daily printed pictures of the three armed force forces and called on the military to defend the Islamic homeland.

But it was not only Islamic patriotism the newspapers were printing. They also reflected



confrontations that existed between two political factions within the establishment. One of the tendencies was known as the Imam's Line whose distinguished spokesman was former Prime Minister Shahid Rajaie. The other wing was the so-called Liberal tendency led by the defunct President Banisadr who was becoming increasingly dependent on anti-revolutionary groups.

The separation that existed in all government organs, including the Majlis (Parliament), significantly weakened their ability in dealing with the coming crisis. When the war started the differences subsided for a while. In a message to student associations, Prime Minister Rajaie called for unity as the most immediate need of the nation.

One day after the major Iraqi offensive, the Kayhan daily published a picture of Rajaie and Banisadr eating lunch together in the front. "Together and hopeful of understanding", commented Kayhan. But this was not to be. A year had not passed that the two wings were locked in a bloody confrontation. Rajaie was martyred in a bomb blast and Banisadr fled to France.

Meanwhile, a development which provoked Saddam Hussain's attack on Iran and cannot be therefore overlooked is the role of the radical political groups in Iran. The groups were active in creating centers of crisis in different parts of Iran, particularly the Kurdistan Province.

Claiming that Islam cannot lead an anti-imperialist revolution the left wingers were preparing themselves for an internal rebellion against the establishment. Schools and universities became centers of leftist agitation and units of militia, of course yet unarmed, were organized at all levels of the society.

To get a clear picture, the international situation must also be studied. Three significant regional developments had taken place after the Islamic Revolution: the Soviets had occupied Afghanistan, Moslem students had taken over the US Spy Nest (Embassy) in Tehran and the army in Turkey had taken over the government through a coup d'eta.

The occupation of the US Embassy which lasted 444 days and ended on January 1st 1981, had become the most significant national issue. Iranian demands for the extradition of the shah ended when he died a month and a half before the Iraqi aggression. Imam Khomeini had made the parliament responsible for solving the problem and

the government was busy through Algerian mediation in signing an accord with the United States.

The occupation of Afghanistan by over 100,000 troops took place a week after the fall of the US Embassy in Tehran. The Soviets who always had an eye on reaching the southern open seas took an opportunistic turn and invaded Afghanistan with 12 Red Army Divisions. Although the world protested and the Afghan people have since put up an armed struggle against the forces of occupation nevertheless the fact of Soviet aggression is still evident.

The coup d'etat in Turkey took place a month before the Iraqi aggression. Kenan Evren, the head of Turkish armed forces and five other senior officers took over power in what the French daily "Le Monde" called a coup, encouraged by the United States. The economical and the political situations in Turkey were extremely fragile and Washington could not bear to see an Islamic type revolution there.

Such were the realities, within and outside Iran, when the initial Iraqi aggression started. On September 22, 1980 the Iraqi Air Force bombarded Iranian airfields in what seemed to be a duplication of the Israeli attack against Egypt in 1967. The Iraqis lost 14 airplanes in the attack and within hours the Air Force of the Islamic Republic retaliated by sending 140 fighters to bombard 15 Iraqi centers.

Public excitement grew as the news came in. Imam Khomeini sent a message to the Moslem nation calling for mobilization against the Baath attack. Government organs including the Foreign Ministry issued statements declaring that the Baath attack will not be left without punishment. The press, too started printing reports on the war developments. Pictures of fallen Iraqi fighters and Baath prisoners filled the front pages. The stories have continued since.

MESHKINI: OPPRESSED SHOULD BE OFFICIALS GAUGE

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 2 Sep 84 p 2

[Article: "Meshkini at Meeting with Administrative Officials and Workers, Martyrs' Families in Qom: Administrative Officials and Workers Must Heed the Oppressed and Make Them their Standard"]

[Text] Qom--KEYHAN Correspondent--On the sixth day of Government Week and the third anniversary of the martyrdom of two of the Imam of the nation's sincere comrades, Martyr Raja'i and Martyr Bahonar, a large crowd of Qom administrative officials and personnel and families of Qom martyrs met last Thursday with Ayatollah Meshkini.

Governor Mohseni began the meeting with remarks on Government Week and the state of the administrative offices. Then Ayatollah Meshkini, Friday Imam of Qom, offered condolences on the anniversary of the martyrdom of the ninth imam, His Holiness Mohammad Taqi (Peace Be Upon Him) and the anniversary of the earth-shattering martyrdom of two of the Imam's faithful comrades, Martyr Raja'i and Martyr Bahonar. He said: Raja'i and Bahonar were men of God, and men of politics and learning.

In every sense, they were servants of the people and the Islamic revolution. They were among the most important men in the country, martyred in a dastardly incident with few parallels in history.

The Chairman of the Assembly of Experts referred to Government Week, stressing that service to the people is the highest form of worship. He addressed government officials and workers: The people of Iran are a lively and Godly nation, and you must be proud that you are in the service of these dear people, because service to the people is the highest form of worship and one of the preferred forms of prayer with a higher reward. He added: In all that you do, you must look at the devotional side, and keep in mind constantly that your work is service to the people. Be strong and faithful in the performance of your duties, because it was the very power of faith that carried our combatants to victory over enemies who were armed to the teeth. Addressing government officials and workers, he added: A human being must strive to avoid oppressing others, because whoever curtails the rights of others will be held accountable by God. You must be meticulous in your work so that no one is oppressed because of you, and no one's rights are trampled. He added: Your tasks are not personal ones, where you may stop work an hour early if you wish.

Quitting government work an hour early is oppression against others and treason. In the same regard, he said: If you do personal work while on an administrative job, you have sinned, for when you are on government time, your time is not your own, it belongs to the people. Ayatollah Meshkini referred to complaints received of paper-shuffling in some government offices, and the failure of some government workers to serve the people properly. He stressed: Of course, the government has some responsibility in solving this, but you worker brothers and sisters must also realize that it is your responsibility to satisfy the people in a worthy manner. He added: I am afraid that if this continues, instead of writing letters and complaints to high officials and Friday Imams, the people will take it upon themselves to answer to such negligence on the part of some offices, and this is not in the interest of the Islamic revolution. If you choose personnel for your office, do not it be said that in such and such an office there is such and such a person, and the other workers are of his ilk as well. Ayatollah Meshkini called for the establishment of relations and laws in place of relations. He said: You must heed the oppressed in your work and make them your standard. If you work in distribution planning, do not allow insiders to take anything they want while the poor and the barefoot are unable to obtain goods distributed by the government.

In conclusion, Ayatollah Meshkini stressed the fact that the Islamic revolutionary movement sprang from the holy city of Qom, and that today the world watches Qom with a special sensitivity. He discussed complaints received by municipal officials and workers concerning problems and malfunctions in this city.

9310

CSO: 4640/393

IRAN

AGRICULTURE MINISTER: PRODUCTION INCREASE MUST PRECEDE EXPANSION

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 2 Sep 84 p 2

[Article: "Minister of Agriculture on the Occasion of Government Week: Future Aims of Ministry of Agriculture Detailed"]

[Text] It is the policy of the government and the Ministry of Agriculture to place executive power in agricultural affairs in the hands of the people as much as possible. Planning in the Ministry of Agriculture is an issue that must be pursued. Yesterday Dr 'Abbas'ali Zali, Minister of Agriculture, explained the Ministry of Agriculture's future plans at a press conference.

With regard to the Ministry of Agriculture's position in the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Minister of Agriculture said: In the first stages of planning and drawing up executive procedures the Ministry of Agriculture is taken into consideration. It is necessary to note that the God-given resources in our country are abundant, and we all know how these resources were wasted under the former regime. There are also other resources in our country which have yet to be used, and we must find ways to make use of them. He noted: Contrary to what the public sometimes imagines, agricultural planning is the most complicated kind of planning. Agriculture needs a comprehensive plan, under which resources such as climate, soil, forests, pastures, and economic and social factors in agriculture must be taken into consideration. Those involved in agricultural planning must therefore have specialized skills and experience.

He noted: In the month of Bahman in the year 1359 [21 January - 19 February 1980], the Ministry of Agriculture may have become the first ministry to propose the use of planning to advance agricultural goals. This concept was adopted from then on by insiders. In order to advance the work of the Ministry of Agriculture, in addition to experts and specialists in the ministry, personnel outside the Ministry of Agriculture such as retired agricultural experts and university personnel were invited to work to help the Ministry of Agriculture with planning.

Continuing his remarks, Dr Zali said: In order to alleviate difficulties, the Ministry of Agriculture's policies were reviewed. The question of the Ministry of Agriculture's goals was raised; was the ministry interested in increased agricultural production, or something else?

He noted: One aim of the government of the Islamic republic and the Ministry of Agriculture is to avoid direct interference in production. It is thus the policy of the government and the Ministry of Agriculture to place executive power in the hands of the people as much as possible.

Concerning the harmony of other organizations with the Ministry of Agriculture, the Minister of Agriculture said: In order to advance agricultural goals, work must be coordinated with other organizations. For example, if the Ministry of Agriculture wants to construct an earthen dam in some area, it must consider technical and social problems at the same time to prevent money invested from being lost.

He noted: Before agricultural expansion can be considered, increased production must be considered, and it must be said in this regard that it is this increased production that will increase the farmer's income.

Concerning the Bank of Agriculture and the provision of services by this bank to farmers at the prescribed times, he said: We believe that if the Agricultural Bank wants to serve rural people it must distance itself from administrative bureaucracy, in order to be able to provide its services to farmers as quickly as possible. This idea has taken shape in the Bank of Agriculture, and we hope that in the future we will have a new Bank of Agriculture so that we will be able to move in accordance with the needs of all farmers, herdsmen, and fishermen.

Concerning existing problems in the Ministry of Agriculture, Dr Zali said: In order to serve farmers, herdsmen, and fishermen, we must compile and have enacted a plan under which a farmer's crop will be purchased by the government so that the farmer will know that if no one else buys his crop, the government will. A plan has also been presented in this regard so that next year a farmer will be able to insure his crops, which will give additional assurance to the farmer.

He added: Among other measures which may help rural people economically is the transfer of neighboring industries to the villages and production centers so that farmers will be able to spend their extra time doing industrial work related to agriculture.

With regard to animal husbandry in the villages, he said: Studies are being made in the Ministry of Agriculture to strengthen industrial and traditional cattle ranching. In order to spread animal husbandry in the villages, those wishing to do so may raise 30 to 50 hybrid cattle with the establishment of animal husbandry units. At the same time, the Ministry of Agriculture plans to form a company that will handle the country's importation and production of medicines in order to coordinate the status of medicines needed by the country's livestock.

He listed the most important problems of the agricultural sector as follows: unspecified ownership of land, low incomes of producers, the disparity of subsistence between the urban consumer and the rural producer, competition between imports and domestic products, lack of sufficient attention to agriculture in some sectors, and lack of completeness in policies protecting producers.

AGRICULTURE MINISTER: EXPANSION RELIES ON BANKS, PEOPLES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 2 Sep 84 p 2

[Article: "Minister of Agriculture at Seminar for National Coordinating Council of Islamic Banking Societies: The Government Views Attention to Agriculture as One of its Major Responsibilities"]

[Text] 'Abbas'ali Zali, Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, began by noting that the government views attention to the issue of agriculture as one of its major responsibilities. In his talk, he considered and discussed greater utilization of the banking system in order to advance agricultural and animal husbandry programs.

The seminar for the National Coordinating Council of Islamic Banking Societies, dealing with banking without usury and the problems of the Islamic societies, convened yesterday at Camp Martyr Bahonar for the second day; it was attended by the Minister of Agriculture and a large number of members of the National Coordinating Council of Islamic Banking Societies.

The Minister of Agriculture said: Unfortunately, with regard to agriculture our situation is not good at the present time, and this is due to the destruction of agriculture in previous years. He noted: In order to establish perpetual dominance for itself, imperialism systematically destroyed our agriculture in the years prior to the Islamic revolution.

He said: Agricultural investment is not actually very attractive to the private sector, and for this reason the banks can be truly useful by providing facilities and credit to this sector. A private bank specializing in agriculture could provide much assistance in increasing agricultural production. The banking system must therefore operate in such a way that it responds to the extensive needs of the agricultural sector. The Minister of Agriculture then referred to the Bank of Agriculture and called for increases in credit from this bank. He said: Anticipated credit needs for the agricultural sector for the current year [21 March 1984 - 20 March 1985], to be made available to producers by the Bank of Agriculture, which have been submitted to the Money and Credit Council for approval, are at least 200 billion rials. In previous years this credit was obtained from the banking system, with the government guaranteeing profits. Unfortunately, in the current year, despite the importance of the agricultural sector, only 90 billion rials of this credit are being absorbed by the banking system, and this is a source of anxiety for the Bank of Agriculture.

He said: The government will continue to make the utmost efforts to expand agriculture in the country, and we hope to receive the assistance of the country's banking system and the martyr-nurturing people.



# MASHHAD TO BECOME LARGEST CENTER FOR DOMESTIC CATTLE PURCHASE

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 26 Aug 84 p 9

[Text] Correspondent of SOBH-E AZADEGAN reports from Mashhad that brother Mohammad Bozorgban, deputy chief of the state Meat Organization and in charge of the domestic cattle purchasing project who was visiting Mashhad at the head of a mission, took part in a news conference and gave his views regarding the said project as well as its future and current programs, in detail.

Noting that the project had been under consideration since the start of the imposed war and that other plans based on it had been presented, he said: The execution of such a plan is based on total support for livestock breeding, fighting inflation and high prices as well as the reduction and eventually the elimination of subsidies received from the government in this regard. In principle, this project should be carried out in a manner that would not tie it in with the oil tap.

Brother Bozorgban then noted that the purchasing project has already been launched in such places as Tehran, Rafsanjan, Esfahan, Kashan, Yazd, Taft, Meybod, Ardakan, Pishva, Urumieh, Qorchak, Mashhad, Bafq and several other cities and said: Since the start of this project in 1361 [21 March 1982-20 March 1983] to the present time, each day more than 15,000 head of sheep and 600 camels and cattle are slaughtered, this number gradually to be increased in relation to infrastructural programs.

The deputy chief of the state Meat Organization noted that the hopeful outlook for the success of the project is based on shining results achieved during the short period it has been in operation and added: Since our country has special conditions from the point of view of water and climate, especially cattle-raising regions which have special characteristics, effort has been made to draw up all implementary instructions during the time the project is being carried out and to approve them after necessary revision, even though we still believe we should not draw up final guidelines but rather also benefit from future experience.

Referring to the setting up of 15 slaughterhouses nationwide to help implement the project as well as the opening of 21 livestock buying stations, the deputy chief of the state Meat Organization said: Although the Meat Organization is responsible to provide the meat needs of the people of the country, it also has

the duty of buying and supplying needed livestock. Unfortunately, prior to the revolution this organization had been turned into a meat importing organization, a situation whose consequences are still present, with meat imports continuing and also increasing in future years.

Brother Bozorgban then responded to questions about last year's reduced rainfall and drought in desert and hot regions of the country and their effect in implementing the project: In reality this year's drought should be kept separate from the domestic livestock buying project because success was on such a level that all our units have bought and are buying 100 percent cattle from ranchers. Specifically, in Mashhad and a number of cities in Khorasan which in the near future will become the biggest units in implementing the project, we have also purchased cattle, camels and sheep with the help of rural cooperatives.

Brother Bozorgban then responded to questions about purchase of livestock and the need to encourage ranchers to keep in touch with those implementing the project: Actually the best part of this project is that all the necessary work is done by livestock breeders and villagers themselves and is a public need. For this reason, buying councils will soon be set up with the participation of skilled villagers to cooperate with the Rural Cooperative Organization in fixing prices and buying cattle which will then be transported to designated centers and delivered against cash.

At the present time we have permanent agreements nationwide for fattening and stall-feeding of 200,000 head of sheep. We therefore hope all responsible and related agencies as well as the people of the country will accept the project as a national and public program.

Khorasan agriculture director-general Sharif Vaeqi who participated in the news conference then replied to the question from the reporter of SOBH-E AZADEGAN who had asked what the government had done toward self-sufficiency as well as to expand pasturelands, increase livestock and truly support cattle-raisers by saying: Recently 2 cattle purchasing stations were set up in southern Khorasan (Qaenat and Sarbisheh) and the necessary purchasing funds have been allocated to allow the stations to start work soon.

The country's winter fodder needs have been purchased from abroad through the Pasture Development Fund and will soon be sent to drought-hit regions. Also, 40,000 tons of grain have been purchased in Mazandaran through the help of Rural Cooperative Organization. Sharif Vaeqi pointed out that it is not the intent to import fodder on a permanent basis but rather to rely on programs being put into effect by the General Forestry Department for improving pasturelands. He added: Suitable regions have been designated and necessary studies carried out regarding their water and climatic conditions. Programs are being carried out about which the people of the regions concerned will soon see the results. The Khorasan agricultural director-general sounded a warning to villagers and responsible officials of the country concerning damage caused to pastures in ownership moves and expressed hope that the Ministry of Agriculture will, with the cooperation of farmers and ranchers, be able to carry out special projects such as the sinking of medium-depth artesian wells, installation of pumps on

such wells and the control of surface water supplies, and thus provide the water needs of livestock and promote the self-sufficiency of the Meat Organization.

Mashhad governor Karimi, the final participant in the conference, responded to a question from the reporter of SOBH-E AZADEGAN as to what the governor's office had done as the institution responsible for carrying out the project and insuring the availability of meat supplies in cities at the fixed price of 750 rials per kilogram by saying: Basically, the Mashhad governorship has been involved in the project for which capital is being provided by the government and, in order to bring about the utmost coordination, we have set up an organization under the name of "meat council" in Mashhad. Regulations governing it have been approved by the governor's office and its membership includes many persons who are involved in related work. Three inspection teams of dependable individuals recommended by the guild affairs prosecutor's office are supervising proper meat distribution and set price observance and will take strong measures against violators.

The Mashhad governor said 3 steps will be involved in dealing with violations: written notification for first-time violations, suspension of quotas and a shut-down of the unit involved in case of second-time offenders for a specified period and in the case of third-time offenders their case will be sent to the revolution court.

Mashhad governor Karimi also expressed hope that with the cooperation of almost all butchers in Mashhad, the strongest measures will be taken against livestock hoarders who adopt a negative stance against the above project, in order to protect the good name and standing of honorable butchers and ranchers.

The final matter brought up by the Mashhad governor concerned butcher shops operating without license and the fact that soon the needs of Mashhad and the number of butcher shops needed will be determined and action will be taken to close down guild butcher shops operating without permit or those not needed.

5854

CSO: 4640/407

# PURCHASE, DISTRIBUTION OF DOMESTIC CATTLE

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 4 Sep 84 p 3

[Text] Mashhad-KEYHAN correspondent: Following the approval of the purchase plan for domestic cattle and its execution in several cities, the plan was put into effect in Mashhad as of a month ago. Therefore, we interviewed brother Bozorgian, Deputy Director of the National Meat Organization and Executor of the purchase plan for domestic cattle. In this conversation brother Bozorgian initially stated concerning this plan:

"After the start of the imposed war, the formation of a National Economic Mobilization Headquarters was considered whereby many plans for the coordination of the purchase of domestic cattle were prepared until the month of Dey 1361 [22 Dec-20 Jan 1982]. The present plan was approved by the Economic Council, and on the 11th of the same month the first segment of this plan became operational in Tehran's Ziaran slaughter house. The capability of the project was demonstrated in repeated reports, thus the Economic Council approved it for execution in other cities. The first domestic cattle purchasing unit was formed in Rafsanjan and thereafter in cities such as: Esfahan, Kashan, Yazd, Meybod, Ardekan, Varamin, Pishva, Archak, Oroumieh, Mashhad, Bafq and other towns and cities.

With the start of the plan in Mashhad, we also hope to be able to provide enough meat to feed the residents of Mashhad and the pilgrims to the Holy Shrine of Iman Reza (Peace be upon him). However, the main objective of the project is the protection of cattle breeding and the fight against inflation, while the need for government subsidy will be finally eliminated. All the managerial and executive procedures of the plan have been prepared, improved and approved during operation runs, but the final procedural methods have not been provided yet."

He Added: "From the beginning of the project until now 15 slaughter houses have been assigned to the slaughter of cattle purchased under the coordinated plan. Purchases of cattle are carried out in 21 different purchasing units which cover 23 large cities, a few towns and some villages. Mutton with bone and fat, beef and camel meat without bones would cost consumers 750 rials [poundage not specified]. Another important factor in this project is the guarantee which we have against price increases for the consumer, whereby we will try as far as possible to stabilize the price at

a lower rate if possible. This project has shown its positive side in most cities throughout the country. Cattle purchases have not subsided, and in some instances we have dealt directly with the owner of the cattle without going through a middleman. With the cooperation of related departments such as the office of the governorates, the General Department of Agriculture and Rural Reconstruction and other responsible authorities of the Khorasan Province, the execution of this plan in Mashhad has been very positive and beneficial so far so that we have synchronized the execution of the project for the slaughter of sheep, camels and oxen. God willing, in the future Mashhad will turn out to be the largest proving ground for the execution of this project, and we hope to be able to expand this plan throughout the country."

The executor of the purchase plan of domestic cattle went on to say: "Direct purchase of cattle from rural cattlemen and other animal husbandmen so far has not been possible. However, currently this has become a possibility with the assistance of the Agricultural Department and rural cooperatives. Six cooperative societies have tentatively been introduced, each cooperative society covers up to 15 villages. We have carried out this plan and in the future the cooperative societies through the Council of Cattle Purchase, which will be formed by the inhabitants of each concerned village who are trusted by the government and their own people, will set prices on cattle and carry out purchases according to the prices set by the cooperative. They will make arrangements for the transfer of the cattle, at a fee, to our receiving units in the slaughter houses." He added: "We do not intend to kill lean and young cattle. And in Mashhad, in case we are faced with a drought, appropriate decisions will be made in order to correct the deficiency. As a way to help cattlemen, we will try to assist them by payment of loans through the Agricultural Bank." He also stated: "Throughout the country agreements for the purchase of 200,000 stalled cattle have been reached. Of this number a few thousand head of cattle have been killed in the slaughter houses, while the young sheep through the Project of Martyr Raja'i have been transferred to the rural areas. We are looking at this project as a people's and national project."

Brother Varamini, a member of the Board of Directors of the National Meat Organization, in response to the question: "What is the motive for the opposition of some of the butchers to the new project?" said: "The motive for the opposition of a few butchers to the new project for coordination of domestic cattle purchase perhaps has a direct relation to their profits. Before the execution of this new plan there were no hard and fast rules concerning butchers' profits. With the purchase plan of domestic cattle we have different plans and formulas for different sectors. For example, the butcher will receive four tomans profit from the sale of each kilo of meat, and this rule is unchangeable throughout the entire executive sale units."

In response to the statement that "Some butchers mix frozen and freshly killed meat and sell the same to consumers," he said: "Frozen meat and the

meat from the coordinated plan for the purchase of domestic cattle will be presented in separate outlets for sale. During the first days of the project we bought some meat from Turkey, which was not by any means frozen, and delivered it to the Sale Guilds in order to make up for the shortages in the meat market.

Brother Sharif Vaqefi, Director General of Khorasan Agricultural Department in reply to the question: "Because of the shortage of fodder, especially in the southern areas of Khorasan, are young sheep being slaughtered?" said: "The main reasons for the execution of the coordinated purchase plan of domestic cattle are protection of the producer, a guarantee of purchase benefits for cattle breeders, reduction in the price for the consumer, availability of meat throughout the year, and control over the hygienic conditions of the meat. Although the crisis of drought is different from that of the purchase plan of domestic cattle, our brothers from the National Meat Organization have had very favorable opinions for cooperation. It has been agreed that even the cattlemen will be ready to help when and if their assistance is called for. As regards the southern area of Khorasan, two stations for the purchase of domestic cattle have been established, one in Qa'enat and one in Birjand, and they will soon start purchasing cattle." In regard to the provision of necessary winter fodder for the cattlemen he stated: "Some fodder will be purchased by the Pastures Reconstruction Bureau from abroad and will be distributed among the cattlemen through the headquarters of crisis and drought which are located in drought-prone areas within the Departments of Agriculture and Centers for Rural Services. From the 40,000 tons of barley purchased by the Rural Cooperative Organization from Mazahdaran region, 10,000 tons of it have been transferred to this area and the remainder will be duly distributed among the cattlemen after the preparation of proper purchase permits."

12719

CSO: 4640/408

RICE PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 1 Sep 84 p 3

[Text] Rice production, distribution problems discussed with growers and the minister of commerce.

Rice imports this year amount to over seven hundred thousand tons.

With the imam's guidance and consultation with the experts, the problems of rice distribution seem solvable.

Rice production and distribution problems were discussed and studied in a meeting with Hasan Abedi, minister of commerce, a group of rice growers, rice merchants, and those involved in rice distribution.

According to the report of IRNA, a group of rice growers and merchants of Gilan and Mazandaran Provinces and other regions of the country and groups involved in rice distribution participated in a meeting with Mr Hasan Abedi-Ja'fari, minister of commerce and some of the deputy ministers of this ministry in Tehran. In this meeting, the problems of rice production were discussed and studied. The minister of commerce in a speech talked about the reason for this meeting and said: "The purpose for this meeting is to plan a new project for rice production and distribution in order to eliminate existing problems in this area." He asked the participants of this meeting to bear in mind four principal subjects: consumption, production, imports, and distribution.

He added: "The decisions reached must lead to just distribution throughout the country. Thus the determined rate for rice must be acceptable to consumers and the plan must not lead to a consumption increase or chaos."

Then he referred to the production subject and said: "All suggestions presented for solving the problems must cause production to increase and the discussed rate for purchasing rice must be profitable for farmers and encourage rice growers to increase production."

He also suggested: "In pricing, efforts must be made to observe the prices of other basic products in order to prevent damaging those products."

The minister of commerce in another part of his speech referred to rice imports and said: "The rate of rice imports this year amounted to over 700,000 tons."

We hope in suggesting projects that the question of decreasing imports be considered." He also said: "Definitely the old brokers and rice merchants have an important role in this regard." He expressed confidence that with the nation's imam's guidance and consultation with the experts in these fields, the problems of product distribution can be solved forever.

After the speech of the minister of commerce a group of participants discussed their points of view for solving the problems of rice production and distribution. The meeting will be continued this afternoon.

9815

CSO: 4640/394



IRAN

## EDUCATORS SEEK FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN EDUCATION

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 2 Sep 84 p 2

[Text] In the presence of a group of education officials and teachers, a seminar for fundamental changes in education and training began. Closer cooperation between the ministries of education and training and higher education and culture, the educational revolution headquarters, and all those involved in Islamic education and training was urged for preparing a suitable pre-university curriculum.

The first official session of the seminar for fundamental changes in education and training was held yesterday in Alameh Tabatabai cultural center.

This seminar, organized through the efforts of the Islamic teachers society, began yesterday (the anniversary of the martyrdom of Raja'i and Bahrar).

In the first meeting, Hojatt ol Eslam Dr Ahmadi, a member of the educational revolution headquarters, responsible authorities of the ministry of education and training, and a group of teachers were present.

In the first session of this seminar, after reading a few passages from the holy Koran, Dr Sharqi, a member of the Islamic teachers association and a specialist in Islamic educational affairs, gave a speech entitled "Family Education as the First Step Towards Fundamental Changes in the Educational System." In presenting his speech, he talked about the introduction, origin and history of education, its historical course in the western world, and its effects and results. He discussed comparative studies on the principles of Islamic education. He emphasized genuine Islamic education and training by the family and talked in detail about the family role in the formation of the individual personality in the larger society.

Dr Sharqi, in the continuation of this speech, referred to some passages of the holy Koran and narrations from the virtuous imam's about the special place and importance of the family unit in educating the society and the pure interests which are manifested in these divine guidances in the educational training field. He presented an analysis of the family effect on the society and its influences and results.

To conclude, he mentioned the activities of the Islamic teachers society of Iran for making fundamental changes in the educational order of the Islamic Republic. Based on this report, during the continuation of the first day of the seminar,

Hojatt ol-Eslam Dr Ahmadi, the speaker of the educational revolution headquarters also talked in detail about changes to the higher educational order after the victory of the Islamic Revolution and the role of this headquarters in the changes of education and training.

In a part of his speech, he explained the activities and measures taken by the educational revolution headquarters in this regard and mentioned the efforts used to expedite procedures and reminded the seminar participants: "Definitely in the procedures there are some problems, but the headquarters is facing them with patience and uses its utmost efforts to eliminate all the deficiencies."

He then described the enormous dimension and important duties of the educational revolution headquarters in order to succeed changing the higher educational and training orders in training centers and in the society. He referred to the priority programs of the educational revolution headquarters for the future and emphasized the preparation of a suitable pre-university program. He reminded the seminar participants that to succeed in this task, close cooperation between the ministry of education and training, ministry of higher education and culture, the educational revolution headquarters and all those who are involved in Islamic education and training is necessary. He demanded from all the participants of the seminar preparation of accurate and correct plans for creating this cooperation in order to secure the success of the future plans of the educational revolution headquarters.

The speaker of the educational revolution headquarters in continuing his speech described the practical background of this cooperation and answered questions from the participants in this regard and other fields of education and training.

It is worth mentioning that the seminar will continue until 6 September 1984 and the seminar participants will benefit from the ideas of the educators and informed persons within the framework of the seminar's goals. They also will meet the nation's executive officials and responsible authorities, and will profit from their guidance and ideas.

9815

CSO: 4640/394

# AZARBAYJAN SEISMOLOGY CENTER BECOMES OPERATIONAL

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 4 Sep 84 p 3

[Text] Tabriz-KEYHAN correspondent: Azarbayjan Seismology Center, an affiliate of the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran [AEOI], after an initial experimental utilization period, synchronous with the Government Week officially started its operation.

Brother Mas'ud Peyman, Director of Seismology Affairs of AEOI, concerning particulars and economical effects of this network stated: "Taking into consideration the fact that without a proper study of the seismic peculiarities of the country, precise identification of seismic or tremor conditions in small regions are not possible. AEOI, in order to assure the safety of the atomic power station against the threat of an earthquake, in addition to Bushehr seismographic station, has installed and utilized seismographic equipment in other parts of the country. Geological evidence and historical precedents are indicative of the complex seismic situation of Azarbayjan. Perhaps the key to the solution of numerous seismic problems of Iran lies in this region. For this reason AEOI has recently installed one of the most advanced seismographical networks in Azarbayjan.

With regard to the shortage of seismographic equipment throughout the country and virtual limitation of technicians, this center, in addition to providing coverage of seismological studies of the country, can present necessary information to serve as precautionary and safety parameters for important installations such as: refineries, power stations, dams, large bridges, regular reconstruction installations and other related city projects, and thus help other governmental organizations.

The existence of geysers in the Sahand and Sabalan mountain regions clearly prove the reality of substantial resources of heat and pressure. Interpretation of the registered earthquakes in this network can be beneficial in the selection of suitable locations for the creation of thermoelectric stations.

The Azarbayjan Seismology Center consists of eight transmitting units which are installed in different parts of Azarbayjan.

Earth tremors at the aforementioned sites after being converted to electric current and reinforced by a medium frequency are modulated to an FM, and are dispatched to the central station through a transmitter antenna.

In the central station 'captured waves', which are arrested by the receiving aeriels, are refined through elimination of extraneous waves, and after reinforced amplification are registered by the eight transmitting units. In addition, different kinds of earthquakes can be registered on a 16mm. film by a special apparatus. This apparatus can automatically perform all the necessary functions of photography--development, proofs (trial negatives), drying and replay of film.

Since most of the transmitting stations are situated on fairly high sites, changing of their batteries can pose a problem. Therefore, use has been made in this network of a solar cell battery which converts sunlight into electricity and automatically charges the batteries. The transmitting units thus use the stored charges at night and there is no need for frequent battery changes. A radio receiver-set receives the Greenwich time signal (GMT) from international radio transmitters--thus using these time signals for proper time setting of the units in the network.

Basic measures which have so far been accomplished are the following:

- 1-Construction of the central station.
- 2-Construction of a series of special mountain roads.
- 3-Preparation and installation of the bases and antennas.
- 4-Provision of electricity of the central station.
- 5-Construction of protective walls around the central and other transmitting stations, plus installation of related equipment and services.

All these measures have been carried out at a cost of less than six million rials, which when compared with similar costly projects which were carried out in the years before the revolution, would seem quite significant.

All the site selections and installation of equipment have been done by electronic and seismology teams from AEOI without any help from foreigners. Meanwhile, it should be mentioned that the analyses of registered earthquakes are performed by AEOI computers.

Finally, it would be appropriate to acknowledge the efforts and cooperation of governmental departments and institutions who have made these accomplishments possible, especially the responsible authorities of the Azarbayjan Water and Power Organization."

12719

CSO: 4640/408

COMMENTARY ON BRITISH ENVOY'S REMARKS ON AFGHANISTAN

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 6 Sep 84 p 8

[Text] STUDENTS of India's freedom struggle will remember that, after his break with the Indian National Congress, when a political statement issued by Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar received fulsome praise in the pro-Congress Press, he promptly issued a disclaimer, saying that something must be wrong and that he would think over the matter again before dealing with the subject.

Many Pakistanis will get the same feeling when they read that Britain's Ambassador, Sir Oliver Foster, has told the Rawalpindi Rotary Club that on most world issues Pakistan and Great Britain had an identity of views. Heaven forbid! And if there is a grain of truth in his assertion, the Pakistan Government needs to think again, very, very hard on all related issues.

Particularly with Mrs. Thatcher in control of Britain's policies, it is seen that whenever there is more than one vote cast against any Third World proposal--be it a bid to move towards the New International Economic Order or an attempt to check Israel, condemn and curb apartheid in South Africa, or otherwise alleviate the condition of the peoples of the developing countries--, the second negative vote is always that of Great Britain, the first being that of its senior ally, the United States. One does not have to go into the past history of Britain's empire or the Partition Plan that was ultimately devised and the manner in which it was implemented; it is enough to review Britain's service to neo-colonialism.

Albion's spokesman made no secret of the fact that British interest in this country related to the situation in Afghanistan, and Pakistan's allotted role as a frontline State, or its vital geographic and strategic position. Nor did he fail to mention the aid given by the West. Concluding, the Ambassador promised his audience that "the world would never allow the Afghan issue to sink under any pressures, because of Pakistan's determination not to compromise on principles."

In a colloquial phrase, Sir Oliver was saying: Rise and move forward to the gallows, and the Lord will bless you!

CSO: 4600/9

# USE OF FOREIGN FUNDS IN ELECTIONS OPPOSED

Karachi JANG in Urdu 2 Sep 84 p 3

[Editorial: "Elections and Foreign Funds"]

[Text] According to a news report, the government has decided to issue special orders to our embassies all over the world warning against the import of foreign funds during the proposed elections. The government received information about the efforts of anti-national elements to procure foreign funds to help their candidates win. The government has decided to carefully monitor all sources of infiltration of foreign monies. It is also learned that the government has decided to punish harshly those who use foreign funds. It will also strictly examine account books of persons running elections.

The elections seem to become a fact as announced by President Zia on 12 August. The government has decided to relinquish power before 23 March 1985. What kind of elections will we have? Who will be permitted to run for election? What kind of rules and regulations will there be? There are many questions like these for which there is no answer at present. We can express our opinion about these issues only after the government has published its election manifesto. We can say one thing for sure: In any election, be it at municipal, state or national level, few candidates have followed the guidelines concerning a ceiling on election expenses. Voters were sold and bought openly and the successful candidates used all kinds of corrupt methods to reimburse themselves for election expenses. That is why our political scene is so muddy. Corruption is rampant and the goal of politics is not service but to acquire wealth.

As for the use of foreign money in elections, most of the Third World countries are heavily involved in this. After the last general elections in the world's largest democracy, India, a great leader of the opposition Janata Party and former Indian prime minister, Morarji Desai, openly accused Indira Gandhi of using Russian rubles in large amounts. In the 1970 elections in Pakistan, the PPP and Awami League were accused of using foreign funds for their campaigns. Even the disastrous typhoon in East Pakistan before we lost it was used for election purposes. The foreign aid provided by many countries was used by the Awami League to win the election. In 1977, the

ruling party and the opposing coalition of parties accused each other of using foreign funds in elections. We still have this problem. The changes that have occurred in this area, especially the foreign aggression in Afghanistan, Indo-Soviet friendship and India's ambitions against Pakistan, are now important factors. Some statements issued by the leaders of the former ruling party, the PPP, and their activities in foreign countries call for extreme caution by our government regarding any kind of foreign hand in our elections. In addition to foreign funds, the use of personal funds should also be audited. Selfless politicians without personal financial resources have failed to win any election because this misguided elections system has made winning a monopoly of the rich.

How does foreign money come into our country? Who are the people, agencies and organizations that benefit from it? How is this political graft practiced? How are these deals made? All these questions require close scrutiny by the election commission. No candidates should be permitted to spend money beyond the established ceiling. If extreme care is taken in establishing rules and regulations for elections, there can be no room for this malpractice. People who ran for elections in the past should be audited. This will help to eradicate corruption in the future. The most important factor in this regard is the honesty and integrity of the candidates. If we focus on this, all kinds of political corruption can be stopped.

7997

CSO: 4656/208

# ELECTIONS HOLD KEY TO BRIGHT FUTURE FOR ALL

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 14 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by Ibnul Hasan: "This Is the Right Time"]

[Text] Two seasons are suitable for elections in Pakistan. October-November is one, when the climate is moderate throughout the country, and March-April is the other. Ironically, however, no climate seems to suit those at the helm, and so elections are never held. During the bad climate we hear good things about elections, and in good climate we begin to hear bad things about them. Generally there are no elections, but if once in a blue moon they do take place, the results are as terrible as those we witnessed in 1970 or 1977.

Now that the October-November season is drawing near, the political climate has begun to change. Soon we shall meet with a catastrophe in which the only casualty will be the elections. Elections in our country are postponed on all sorts of excuses. If an Indian plane is hijacked and we return it to an ungrateful Indian Government, there will be no elections; or Indian's military action in the north or its criticism of our country; a skirmish in Kargul or a military advance there will be enough to give our rulers an excuse to waste the good weather in March-April. If the enmity of India is deemed insufficient, they can always cite the bombardment of the western border around Parachinar as an excuse for not holding the elections. If everything else fails, a puppet national leader, a pet of the regime, a young hopeful can engineer a crisis in the country that will make the elections impossible. Hence the present state of uncertainty and anxiety will persist until the elections have actually taken place.

Why does our government wait for all problems to be solved before elections are held? There is no such thing as tranquility in the world. We will have to hold the elections in the midst of these storms. Now India's elections are drawing near, and they may bring problems for us in their wake. Postponing or deferring the elections will only make matters more complicated day by day. Elections are approaching in the United States, too. In the confrontation between the Republicans and the Democrats, everything else will be forgotten. The U.S. Government will take no notice of anything unless it poses a danger to the United States. If India and the Soviets do not use America's preoccupation with its own elections to create an atmosphere of fear and



discontent in our country, they will show themselves to be more virtuous and peaceful than they really are. Whatever mischief India and the Soviets make in our country, our countrymen, in the light of their past experience, will blame our connections with America for it. Nobody here thinks profoundly and analytically. We are given to impulsive thinking and acting. Whenever our country is bothered by India or the Soviets our first reaction is to blame our government policies and express our discontent with the United States. This universal discontent is exactly what India and the Soviets are trying to generate in our country. Now they are trying to create a similar discontent among our people against the PRC in the north.

The perpetual postponement of our elections and general ambiguity in our political situation helps India and the Soviets in their schemes against us. If India's elections take place before ours (whatever their outcome for Indira Gandhi may be), they will have an effect on our elections. Apart from showing dissatisfaction for the management and the results of the elections, our people are given to making comparisons between India and Pakistan. These comparisons make them feel sad and elated by turns. When India is in trouble, we feel happy, and when India meets with success, we feel sad. These sentiments are reciprocated by India.

Now that our situation is comparatively stable, our government should hold elections at the beginning of November to make this stability lasting. If they miss this opportunity, they will live to regret it. They will open the door to internal discontent and lose an opportunity to make the country strong. They are not likely to get another chance. If the government is trying to find a way to strengthen and perpetuate its hold on the country, it is working in vain. Previous regimes, too, tried to do this with the help of the bureaucracy but failed. They worked against the natural right of the people to self-determination and lost their prestige in the process. Our government should learn a lesson from the fate of those people and make the most of the present tranquility in the country to hold elections within the next 2 months. This tranquility will last only as long as the people believe in the regime's promise that the 1973 constitution will not be abrogated.

The elections of the parliament and the provincial assemblies should be held simultaneously, so that the results of one do not influence the outcome of the other. Moreover, it will make the arrangements for the elections easier. Our countrymen who come home after traveling in the West tell us that elections there always take place punctually, and political parties there are active all year round. Their parliaments and assemblies hold regular meetings, they debate political, economic, social and international issues. When these travelers talk about the elections in the West, they praise the calm and control exhibited during the election process. They tell us that the newspapers write about the heated debates between different candidates, but there is no sign of any agitation in the country. There is perfect silence on the day of the polls. Nobody knows when these people cast their votes and where. People who admire this electoral system should

try to teach it to their own countrymen. It requires courage and diplomacy, courage to hold elections and diplomacy to get the public to cooperate. People will not learn this by hearing lectures about it. They will learn it only through elections. As soon as the date for holding elections has been fixed, all political forces should have to settle their programs according to their particular circumstances and objective. The results of the elections will show how much time and planning each party devoted to it. After that, if the parliament and the assemblies are allowed to work according to the revised constitution, and the president, administration, parliament and assemblies obey the constitution, there is no reason why political activity should not be revived and become successful. After that, local elections should be held regularly.

We will have to begin a tradition of regular and punctual elections. All our national aims and objectives must be kept in view. We have to pull our country out of the mire of the past and give it forward-looking aims, dynamic ideals and a definite national identity. All this cannot be achieved in one election, but it has to start with an election. As long as the elections are being delayed, the bright future of the country will be delayed as well, and the people will go on complaining about the present and show discontent for their dark future wherever they meet. They will expect a new calamity for the nation every day. They will feel cut off from the management of their country and hold the regime responsible for all their troubles. They will find fault with everything, until the country reaches the lowest state of despondency, which again might lead to anything. Why will all this happen? Because the rulers are trying to avoid the elections. They do not want to face the results of the elections. Hence, they try to defer them. This is what is required: (1) Our elections should be held before the elections in India, (2) central and provincial elections should be held simultaneously, (3) the amendments to the 1973 constitution should be announced at once, so that the elected parliament can endorse them and make them a basis for future political activity and (4) the election laws should include an interval of 1 year between the general elections and the election of the president, so that the new parliament, the assemblies and the senate can start their work under an incumbent president.

12476

CSO: 4656/211

# SOCIAL GATHERINGS UTILIZED AS POLITICAL MEETINGS

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 1 Sep 84 p 1

[Article by Ikramul Haq: "Social Functions Are Used To Break the Political Stagnation"]

[Text] Who says that political activity has ended and politicians have gone to sleep? Any politician worth his salt will not keep silent in this period of stagnation and silence. He is always looking for opportunities, and if he does not find one, he will create it himself. Whether it is a private party or the wedding of a son or daughter, a politician tries to use social functions to break the silence and succeeds in doing so. Malik Mohammad Qasim, Prof Ghaffur Ahmad and now Maulana Kausar Niazi have tried to break the political stalemate by using the wedding receptions of their sons and daughters. Rao Khizr Hayat has suddenly revived memories of political meetings; the other day, Maulana Kausar Niazi got together some forgotten personalities and everyone applauded his public relations acumen. Although he invited the cream of Karachi society to the wedding of his son Tariq Niazi, there was even more cream to be found in Rawalpindi Islamabad. The consensus was that although he was not in the government, Maulana Kausar Niazi proved by means of this function that he was someone important. His followers came from far away places, for which one must give credit to Maulana Niazi himself. The members of the Central Committee of his own People's Progressive Party led the group and were introduced to President Zia by Kausar Niazi at the door of the Holiday Inn. Members of the People's Party, the Muslim League and Jamiatul-e Ulema-e Palistan [JUP] were present as were the leaders and members of Tahrik-e Istiqlal and believers in JUP. There were ministers and former ministers, among them Lt Gen Faiz Ali Chishti and Mr Arshad Chaudhry, who are now in camps opposed to the government. Maulana Kausar Niazi introduced the guests to President Zia and led him from the lobby to the hall. President Zia suddenly caught sight of his old colleague, General Chishti; the president advanced and hugged him and inquired about his health. Some looked at this meeting with strange expressions for which there was no justification; when he met with Arshad Chaudhry the president remarked significantly, "We give him the opportunity to meet and will continue to do so." The reception provided many old and new politicians, scholars, businessmen and high officials with the opportunity to meeting and exchange views. It seemed as if the people's thirst was somewhat quenched. Some of them had met after quite a long time and their faces showed their satisfaction and serenity. At this time, this meeting was sufficient for them.

Pir Pagara also reached Islamabad without his kite and string; perhaps he did not expect anyone to challenge him here. Under the pretext of a dinner party, he was able to hold a meeting of his central committee. Worthy of note was the fact that about 10 members of the advisory council participated in the meeting, and these were individuals who had been removed from the Muslim League by the party's high command. But Pir Pagara can say that it was not a meeting but a dinner party. Domestic affairs were discussed at length at this gathering. Some of the speakers proposed that the League not draw up any program until the government's plans regarding elections are clarified. But the majority insisted that whatever form the elections take, whether party or nonparty, the League should participate fully. This time the meeting was held in a calm atmosphere, and the reason may have been that S. M. Zafar was in Holland appearing at Dr Abdul Qadir's trial, and there was no one to take his place. Perhaps Pir Pagara has an idea as to when the elections will be held and that is why he plans to visit different areas of the country until October. Meanwhile, the Muslim League is trying in areas where it is weak or cannot find a candidate for itself to obtain the cooperation of like-minded parties. Whenever Pir Pagara visits Islamabad, he goes to his general headquarters. He was probably in a hurry this time because he did not meet with the president, did not visit his GHQ and did not even fly kites. For some time now, Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur's statements have been the subject of controversy and discussion in various circles. The other day when he was invited to the Rawalpindi Press Club for a Meet the Press program, it was thought that he would say something to clarify his remarks. He still stands by his statements but he offered no explanation. He was against democracy, especially Western-style democracy, and pointed to India, South Africa, Ireland and various other countries as examples of the bloodshed and destruction caused by democracy. He said, "We want true Islamic democracy." He declared President Zia to be the best of all leaders and explained that he was not flattering anyone, just telling the truth. He was opposed to Dr Hamida Khor's coverage in the press because he thought that she did not represent the people of Sind. He was similarly against presenting an exaggerated picture of the activities of doctors in Sind. Mr Talpur openly acknowledged that he would return to his own area and that was why it was important to obtain an opinion from a judge that the Sindhis had served and sacrificed for Islam and hence could not be harboring thoughts against Islam. Mr Talpur insisted that the Sindhis should not be regarded as unpatriotic; they are to be considered as among Pakistan's own.

9863

CSO: 4656/204

PLEA FOR ZIA AS PRESIDENT: HISTORY SAID BEING REPEATED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 13 Sep 84 p 12

["Karachi Diary" column by Makhdoom Ali Khan]

[Excerpt] THE LAHORE RESOLUTION--Shujaur Rehman version--has struck a receptive note with the councillors of Sind. Over the last fortnight it has been echoed and re-echoed by many a 'loyal' municipality. In their attempts to out-stoop each other the councillors passed increasingly queer resolutions requesting the CMLA to contest the Presidential polls, advising him in the "national interest" to hold the Presidential ballot prior to the parliamentary elections and beseeching him to stay on as that was the need of the day. In the most bizarre display of the year, councillor after councillor and municipality after municipality pledged its loyalty with the knowledge that obsequy seldom goes unrewarded in our country and in the hope that these acts of ingratiation may bring a few crumbs from the high table. The CMLA, however, to his eternal credit, has made it repeatedly clear that he is not a man with a bent for politics and that he does not wish to stay on.

Hegel Was Right

I was in school then but I still remember the Ayub Khan days when he wanted to step down and the infinite number of resolutions which the B.D. members passed begging him to stay on in the interests of good government, national solidarity and geographical integrity. Ayub Khan allowed his better judgment to be clouded by that of his sycophants and I have often wondered whether in the last sad days of his rule, when everyone had turned against him, he regretted not having paid heed to his own inner voices. In the heady days of power and glory it is easy to stifle such small irritating noises and equally easy to forget that history has a peculiar trait--it repeats itself right to the bitter end. When the going is good we tend to ignore it only to later on become the hapless victims of the onward march of historical events. Hegel was right: "The only thing we learn from history is that we do not learn from history."

We had a lengthy discourse on the history of the sub-continent from Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur, the learned Defence Minister, who was recently in Karachi. He rejected all compromise on the two basic principles of "Islam" and "the integrity and solidarity of Pakistan." He guaranteed that Pakistan has "come

into existence to stay and no anti-Islam forces can undo it." One hardly need remind the learned Minister that 'Khatre mein Islam nahin' was once his favourite line. The real dangers lurk elsewhere. The best guarantors of the geo-political integrity of a country are the institutions which keep the ambitions of the powerful in check and nurse the grievances of the weak. Exorcising devils and burning witches often placates the clergy but seldom integrates the people. Khwaja Safdar, too, has been talking about the ideology of Pakistan and the golden principles of Islam. He advised the people to elect men of integrity who believed in these principles and categorically told them, "it is no use thinking on party lines." One frequently comes across people, these days, who have made all the necessary arrangements and are fully prepared to contest the forthcoming elections. Money--the vital ingredient of the magic formula which will ensure success in partyless polls--, they will tell you over and over again, is no problem. And over the last few years the term "men of integrity" has become synonymous with men of money. After all, those who do not have it do not matter and those who do not matter can be assumed for all practical purposes not to be there at all.

CSO: 4600/9

# TRIBAL LEGACY TERMED 'INADEQUATE'

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 13 Sep 84 p 8

[Text] THE COLD-BLOODED MURDER of the Jhallawan chief, Sardar Rasul Bakhsh Zarakzai, invites attention not only as a gruesome crime but also as an ugly manifestation of a social order whose liquidation has long been desired by all sane sections of population.

The feud which ended in Sardar Rasul Bakhsh's body being riddled with nearly a score of bullets is said to have originated in a disagreement among step-brothers which had already claimed a life some time ago. Then, through the good offices of intermediaries, the parties had been persuaded to compose their differences. According to reports, an agreement was reached and both sides demonstrated their resolve to abide by it. However, while the parties were waiting for a petition writer to put the compact in black and white, the Sardar was brutally gunned down by the armed guard of his step-brothers.

## Tribal Ways Inadequate

One does not know whether any attempt was made by the parties to the dispute to invoke the State agencies to decide the matter of whether the search for a settlement was confined to tribal institutions. While there is much to be said for any procedure which can yield amicable solutions to feuds, it is obvious that the tribal code has once again been found ineffective in preventing bloodshed. Further, since several other murders in similar circumstances have been recently reported from Baluchistan, the inescapable conclusion is that the facility of quick and generally acceptable justice, which was claimed to be a significant redeeming feature of the tribal system, has become a legend of the past. Nothing can now be advanced in defence of this order which on other counts has long since been marked for extinction. The great harm done by the stoppage of the process of relieving the people of Baluchistan from tribal thralldom can easily be appreciated.

## Shoora Members

The State of Pakistan and the people cannot go on ignoring any part of the country where tribal Sardars can keep retinues of private guards armed with deadly weapons or where the State institutions are powerless to intervene between trigger-happy rivals. That Sardar Rasul Bakhsh was also a Shoora member

and that the list of shoora members assassinated in the last few years has grown considerably is, perhaps, a coincidence. At least the Government does not appear to be aware of anything that might have made the Shoora members special targets of desperate adversaries, although some quarters hold that membership of this body should command a certain measure of respect that could guarantee some protection against assault.

The only long-term lesson from the murder in Zehri House is that social change is not a necessary concomitant of the kind of economic and administrative expansion to which Baluchistan has been treated and that the price for keeping its society stagnant will continue to be paid in blood and suffering. But, then, it would be the height of naivete to pretend that social emancipation of the Baluchistan people, or anywhere else, can be achieved without political and economic democratisation.

CSO: 4600/9



# 'PRIVATIZATION' OF PUBLIC SECTOR CRITICIZED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 13 Sep 84 pp 17-19

[Article by Shahid Kardar]

[Text]

MESSRS HAQ AND ISHAQ have made it clear that the days of the public sector controlling a substantial proportion of the key sectors and undertakings of the economy are gone. There is to be a gradual withdrawal of the public sector from a lot of the activities of the economy whereas the role of the private sector in the growth process is to be encouraged. The model being envisaged by Dr. Haq & Co. requires a substantial reduction in the role of the public sector as an economic agent attracting society's resources for operations, which by the seventies had been accepted as the prerogative of the State. Its share in total investment is programmed to fall from 75% in 1976-77 to about 55% in 1987-88, i.e., its role is likely to be restricted to sectors in which the private sector is not willing to come forward.

The Government's fiscal and monetary policies spelt out in the last two budgets reflect the unmistakable move in this direction under which domestic savings are to be made available to the private sector for investment. To fund the development effort the financial restructuring of the economy is being sought through the privatization of the public sector, the gradual dismantling of the role of the public sector and greater freedom for the 'invisible hand' of the market. Another key policy measure is greater reliance on exports. The objectives behind the strategy were stated to be increase in savings and investment and greater efficiency (through exposure to international competition).

## Assumptions

The underlying assumptions are that:

- (i) a greater role allocated to the private sector would ipso facto bring into existence well-organised, well-informed markets which will unleash the pent-up genius of the capitalists thereby accelerating the role of development;
- (ii) the required adjustments can be achieved easily and quickly; and
- (iii) more competition, despite basic differences between the competitors in respect of control over or access to resources, will still bring prosperity to the majority.

History has repeatedly proved the falsity of these assumptions.

However, one motive not stated was the Government's need to supplement resources at its command to meet defence and administration expenditures. This has necessitated the enlargement of the role of the private sector which would, in theory, speed up and beef up the domestic resources mobilisation measures. The reason is that the Government has been unable to extract a large enough surplus from the public sector undertakings to supplement its tax revenue collections to meet its burgeoning non-development expenditure on defence and administration.

The official arguments are being propped up by regular and constant references to the inefficiencies of and

losses incurred by certain public sector undertakings—of course, without a serious debate on the background to these losses and inefficiencies. The encouragement to external capital inflows either as aid or foreign private investment and the resulting conditionalities imposed by the lenders has only served to accelerate the rate of transformation of the economy — as required by the policy objectives stated above.

Public sector enterprises are under a lot of pressure from Islamabad. There are administrative interventions under the guise of monitoring the investment of public funds. Not only are they being asked to fund their own operations and reduce their reliance on the exchequer, the managements are also being squeezed administratively and financially by restricting their options. They are not being permitted to charge market prices, like the private sector, to improve their financial position. As prices have been controlled for political reasons, public sector corporations have to absorb cost increases which only erodes their financial position. Their poor financial position is then held out as a sufficient reason either for outright closure or for disinvestment and wholesale transfers to potential buyers in the private sector — the policy of 'privatization of public sector enterprises'.

Having highlighted the different measures being pursued by Islamabad to not only embarrass public sector enterprises but also to make difficult their day-to-day operations, let us examine the rationale for the establishment of public sector companies.

The public sector provides infrastructural facilities (communications, electricity, water, etc.) necessary to stimulate growth. These are generally accepted as activities which fall within the domain of the public sector. Differences arise over the extent to which this sector should operate in agriculture, manufacturing, etc.

The case for the public sector is made out by evoking the following reasons:

- (a) The public sector undertakings should, in principle, add to national savings and investment. The generated surplus can be ploughed back for investment purposes instead of being con-

sumed. In the private sector a good proportion of this surplus is consumed by the local capitalists or remitted abroad by multinationals instead of being employed to increase the productive capacity of the economy.

- (b) Public sector involvement also becomes important for the development of a capital goods sector which requires a large investment and could prove risky.
- (c) They can be used to channelise funds into high priority manufacturing rather than in the short-term get-rich-quick luxury goods sector.
- (d) If sufficient funds are made available to them they could also carry out research to develop technology more suited to domestic resource availability.
- (e) At times they have to be established to create jobs in 'sensitive areas' or to prevent redundancies.
- (f) They can also serve to provide, at a low cost, items which enter into the consumption basket of the poor.

It should be noted that even in capitalist countries, like Japan and South Korea, State enterprises were created to stimulate private investment. In Japan, public sector enterprises were created in the textiles, chemicals, cement and machine tools sectors and these played a crucial role in the subsequent industrialization drive.

The Government through its financial institutions seems determined to transfer a sizable proportion of public sector undertakings to the private sector at any price. This attitude is in sharp contrast to the Government's own widely publicised figures of production increases in the public sector. The table below summarises the growth rates per year in key public sector private sector enterprises.

Private Sector	1969-70 to 1979-80
Sugar	3.7%
Cotton cloth	-7%
Tyres and tubes	5%
Cigarettes	4%

### Public Sector

Ghee	13.3%
Cement	2.2%
Bicycles	6.6%
M.S. products	8.6%

### Both Public and Private Sector

Fertilizer (Nitrogen)	9.5%
Fertilizer (Phosphoric)	23%

Sources: (1) *The State of Pakistan's Economy 1970-71 to 1979-80* By PIDE.  
(2) *Pakistan's Economy Through the Seventies* By S.N. H. Naqvi.

From the above table it is evident that the public sector industries throughout the seventies showed much higher rates of growth than private sector industries. Even taking into consideration the profitability criterion the public sector did better than the private sector despite the fact that it was not and is not, required to operate as profit maximiser. Its rate of return on investment was 42% in 1974-76, 22% in 1975-77, 30% in 1977-79 and 28% in 1979-80. Three bad performers were Bannu Sugar (now on the disinvestment list), Larkana Sugar and Sind Engineering. The Sugar Mills did badly because of their location. The areas lacked adequate infrastructural facilities and also suffered from poor availability of raw material — capacity utilization was hardly ever more than one-tenth. As is evident from the above, the poor performance of these enterprises in backward areas was for reasons other than efficiency; their locations were decided on political grounds. Two other bad performers are the Utility Stores Corporation and the National Book Foundation; the potential contribution of such enterprises to society. I leave to the judgement of the readers of 'Viewpoint'.

### Sold for a song

A lot of the PIDC and PICIC controlled and monitored enterprises (paper, sugar and textiles) have been sold at throwaway prices — the buyers have generally come from the old,

familiar industrial families. Further dis-investments are envisaged and are being undertaken in the woollen, garment, ghee, steel pipes enterprises, etc.

The policy of a massive and indiscriminate dismantling of the public sector being actively and energetically pursued by the Government will only serve to bring about a further concentration of the already inequitably distributed economic power.

While such largescale disinvestment is being sought what appears to have been forgotten is the stranglehold (which incidentally has not been weakened to the extent that is widely proclaimed) of a handful of families over the nation's industrial and financial assets in the sixties. Such a policy will exacerbate the existing inequalities. Even if it is conceded that some of the nationalizations during the previous regime were haphazard and indiscriminate it does not necessarily follow that the policies of the sixties and the consequent concentration of wealth in a few hands is *prima facie* desirable.

It is not being denied that there is corruption, bureaucratic red-tape and mismanagement in public sector enterprises, but it is by no means an exclusive preserve of the public sector. There is widespread corruption and mismanagement in the private sector; the latter has been allowed to flourish in the past through State sponsored schemes like cheap capital, tax concessions and holidays and high protection barriers. So, the solution to these problems is not disinvestment and transfer of public sector units to the private sector. What is required is a revamping of the organizational set-up and bringing it under greater professional control.

### Monopoly hold

The private sector, because of excessive protection, has a monopolistic control over the domestic market. It has also failed to improve its productivity. To increase profitability there has hardly ever been any competitive pressures to reduce cost per unit by increasing efficiency and capacity utilization. The textile industry, for example, has been over protected and constantly pampered like a spoilt child which has not learnt to grow and behave like an adult. Des-

pite being drowned with fiscal and monetary incentives, including abolition of import duty on textile machinery for modernization, concessional rates of finance and substantial export rebates, this industry could still not officially register increases in productivity to match the incentives and protection granted to it. The main reasons have been the failure to modernize the plant, which became obsolete long ago, and corruption whereby a large proportion of the production is not reported and is sold on the black market by the owners, i.e., there is largescale evasion of income taxes and excise duties. Similarly, the sugar industry has just refused to modernize and the technology adopted is outdated and financially unviable without massive protection. The private sector seeks incentives but on its part has done little to improve its efficiency.

The industrialists would be making money while the industry itself would be making losses. There is a siphoning off of profits through malpractices like non-recording of purchases, production, sales and the net income through these transactions. The private sector, therefore, operates as if it has no social responsibility.

### Problems of public sector

The public sector enterprises have been neglected. They have been starved of funds to carry out research and development. All vouchers, even those for relatively minor expenses, are subjected to detailed audit reviews which cause more frustration for the loss-makers thereby making it more difficult for them to get their house in order.

They lack well trained personnel because of their inability to match market rates. Also, senior management cadres in a number of cases, have been drawn from the services and cannot boast of adequate management expertise and experience in the related fields. Unfortunately (or deliberately!), their organizational and administrative structure has not been given due attention. Bureaucratic red-tape not only acts as an impediment to diversification efforts but also causes unwarranted and undue delays in issuing licences (and the consequent lag in obtaining raw materials and

spares crucial to the production process), allocations of foreign exchange, etc.

At times large sized projects have been conceived without rigorous and reliable project evaluation. Production capacities have also been built which cannot be supported by the size of the domestic market. Moreover, relatively luxurious staff accommodation, adoption of latest technology, etc., have in some cases astronomically raised the overhead costs. In some cases, mainly for political reasons, more than one unit has been created in two different provinces when one could efficiently satisfy the existing demand. Nevertheless, they still make a greater social contribution because their surplus is largely reinvested as against the consumption of luxury goods by the recipients of such a surplus in the private sector.

No convincing evidence has been brought to light to substantiate the claim that the private sector in Pakistan has been more efficient than the public sector. A serious debate on the efficiency of public sector undertakings can only take place if all factors, instead of mere financial ratios (based on the profit maximization principle), are taken into account, e.g., capacity utilization, cost per unit of output, contribution to Government revenues, rates of return on investment, etc. Moreover, judgements on their efficient performance can only be assessed against the reasons and motives for their creation. There may also be a conflict between objectives. For example, if the reason for the establishment of an undertaking was to augment the capital base then this will imply the setting of prices at levels which can guarantee a sufficiently high rate of return. But this may conflict with the motive to provide, at low cost, goods consumed by the poor.

Even if it is accepted that the public sector is slightly inefficient compared to the private sector it could still be argued that disinvestment is a bad policy considering the result of a greater privatization of the means of production, the worsening of the distribution of incomes and the consequent conspicuous consumption of the rich. It has been claimed that over 25% of the industrial growth during the first half of the sixties was

consumed and not reinvested by the capatilists.

### Conclusions

Planning and regulation of the economy's operations have earned a bad name in Pakistan. The solution to our problem is not deregulation and privatization of the means of production but a fundamental restructuring of the property and social relations. China, for example, is a centrally planned economy deploying a lot of direct controls while allocating resources. The State intervenes in the market, rations many essential consumer goods and adjusts, regulates and monitors the demand for labour and availability of financial credits. So, China does everything which M/s Haq and Ishaq believe that we should not do. Yet China has grown at a much faster rate than us, has a lower infant mortality rate, a life expectancy that can match that in the West, has attained primary education for all, has reduced malnutrition to the point that it is no longer a problem and at the same time created a highly egalitarian society. To top it all, China's exports since 1965 have grown at the same rate as world trade whereas we have generally lagged behind.

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PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

DEFENSE COUNSEL BACKS OUT--LAHORE, Sept 19--Mian Abdul Khaliq, one of the three defence counsels appointed by the State to defend the 56 accused before the Special Military Court at the Kot Lakhpat Jail here, has withdrawn himself from the panel and conveyed his decision to the Advocate-General, Punjab. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 20 Sep 84 p 2]

REFUGEES TO MOVE FROM ATTOCK--ATTOCK, Sept 19--According to a knowledgeable source, some 45,000 Afghan refugees residing in Attock were being shifted out of the district. The refugees have started arrangements for shifting to their camps and are selling off their valuables at cheap rates. According to the source, refugees from Kahuta, Murree and other parts of Rawalpindi District have already been shifted to their camps. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 20 Sep 84 p 2]

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